UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

TEXT AS DISCOURSE: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF ALBERTA GRADE TWELVE SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS

BY

DOUGLAS CAMERON BROWN ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

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ABSTRACT

TEXT AS DISCOURSE: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF ALBERTA GRADE TWELVE SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS

In recent years researchers have expressed interest in the high school textbook, specifically, in how the textbook, as a learning resource, intersects with the world of the student. Content analyses have endeavored to isolate inconsistencies and coding in text which, in theory, are purported to influence the young learner, in adverse ways. Racism, patriarchy, and elitism are touted as conditioned attitudinal responses, speculatively, acquired predispositions, reproduced within the social networks of the societies in which they are practiced. Content studies, however, express a quantitative approach reviewing discourse as a discursive product of the written text. The following study breaks with this mold, reviewing discourse at both the discursive and extra-discursive levels of textual expression. For discourse production is both multifarious and interactive in nature, symbolically coding and recoding meaning systems within a given environment.

This project targets a specific learning resource textbook series, the Alberta grade twelve social studies "basic", composed of five textbooks. An analysis is conducted utilizing a methodology with a prescribed sensitivity in the interpretation of discourse forms, both discursive and otherwise. Discourses, evolving as products of the written text, are recorded, analyzed and organized along thematic axes, and presented as commonalties are established. The textual structure of this study is a reflection of this process. A particular significance is placed on the role power plays in discourse selection and

presentations, as the intercourse of discourse forms result in acts of domination and submission, influencing outcome.

The results of this analysis acknowledge power as a definable conditioner in discourse creation and articulation, as it applies to the texts reviewed. Coded in particularized ways, paradigms emerge from the discourse fabric, normatively derived and sustained. The paradigms referenced effectively manipulate and isolate the reader in an act of control which both disempowers and depoliticizes.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

A Rationale 1

The Study 4

An Analytical Model 5

The Nature of Discourse 8

Discourse as Meaning 12

Discourse As Code 21

The Reassembling of Discourse 26

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY 31

An Analytical Format 33

Paradigmatic 34

A. The Question of Authorship 34

B. The Question of Readership 36

C. The Question of the Object 37

D. The Question of the Other 39

E. Layering of Discourse 44

F. Discourse as a Historical Process 46

G. The Role of Power 47

Syntagmatic 50

A. Tautological Fallacies 50

B. Discourse as a System of Coherency 51

Applying the Methodology 52

CHAPTER 3: CITIZENSHIP 54

Our World and Our Place in It 54

Difference 57

Communism 58

An Alien World 70

Identity 85

Democracy 86

Conformity 89

Patriotism 90

Identity and Change 95

CHAPTER 4: SCARCITY 100

The Wonders of the Marketplace 101

The Market as Model 102

Capitalism as an Ideology 114

The Intersection of Public and the Private 125

The Market as Employer 131

The Depoliticization of Scarcity 137

CHAPTER 5: DEVELOPMENT 144

Development as Code 150

Underdevelopment 155

Pity, Paternalism, and Exploitation 164

Development and the Good Life 181

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY 192

Economic Paradigm 196

Historical Paradigm 197

Growth Paradigm 198

Development Paradigm 199

Imperialist Paradigm 201

Democratic-Pluralist Paradigm 202

BIBLIOGRAPHY 209

CHAPTER ONE

A RATIONALE

Extensive research literature has been generated around the textbook used in formal educational settings, particularly as applied at levels preceding and including secondary studies. While these levels are targeted for a variety of reasons, commonalties underwrite most. To begin with, a broad demographic of the student population is represented, secondly, these studies focus on a developmental period in the life of the individual which is extremely prolific in terms of knowledge acquisition, and thirdly, there exists a concern among the generalized population that younger people are exceptionally malleable and thereby more susceptible to indoctrinating knowledge structures, regardless of the cultural or moral underpinnings.

Textbook authorship, selection and use, therefore, remains a controversial and much debated subject. This project focuses, either directly or indirectly, on authorship and selection, although the resulting data should prove useful in effectively constructing a pedagogical approach. Specifically, the following analysis examines subject content as applied to social studies curricula, acknowledging that a strict adherence to content can result in research limitations. Pedagogy is a vital component in the educational process, as content matter is mitigated, adapted or even altered through the teacher-learner exchange. Knowledge transference can be diffused or embellished through social, or idiosyncratic, particularities.

The methodological approach harnessed in this study focuses singularly on discourse, as an expression of textbook content, given the limitations restricting project breadth, deferring an accompanying ethnographic review. However, it is realistic to gauge the impact of a given textbook discourse(s) within a controlled institutional setting, as significant.

The research focuses on textbook content, or more accurately textbook discourse, as articulated in both discursive and extra-discursive ways. For in conceptualizing the term discourse, it is important to differentiate it from that of text. Text here refers to the direct symbolic medium published. The text remains bound materially by its physical perimeters. Discourse, however, is representative of not only printed textual material, but of all underwriting and generated properties resulting from the symbolic transference of the idea or concept. Thus, while a picture of a starving child with a begging bowl may convey the discourse of a hungry person in search of nourishment, the image can also cue other discourses particular to given social predispositions. Ensuing auxiliary discourses are then recognizable given shared cultural interpretations. A discourse created by the image of the child passively facing the camera, sad-eyed with distended stomach, can lead to alternative interpretations which contradict or "bend back" on the original. The controversy surrounding "the pornography of poverty" is such an example, whereby discourse(s), generated out of extremely graphic portrayals of human misery, foster an enslaving archetype difficult to emancipate.

Essential to this project is an understanding of discourse, as a discourse, by nature, transcends the directly descriptive role of a text. In discourse, reference is symbolic and hinges on a commonplace understanding of both the symbols themselves, and more importantly, the empirical phenomena represented. Commonplace understanding and interpretation, however, does not evolve in a vacuum and is shaped through definitive historical and political processes. These processes are themselves the lived products of particularized events contoured along margins of power within a given social network. Discourse creation and use borrows of an agenda which attributes meaning in accordance with significant, and in many instances, definable social processes. A comprehensive discourse analysis can lead to disclosures which hint of the processes at work in the formation of discourse forms. Discursive privilege, or the power wielded by a text to include or exclude, serves as but one example here.

It is not, however, sufficient to suggest that secondary school social studies texts ground discourses in an agenda of the political. Disclosing specific agenda can, in turn, expose analytical weakness on the part of the researcher. A reasonably extensive study is, therefore, required in the interest of deconstructing institutionalized textual patterns of privilege within symbiotic discourse flows. This study endeavors to do this. Refining these parameters is a focus which specifically targets the indigent, as symbolically manufactured through discourse. Redefined, the issue becomes one of textual enfranchisement and disenfranchisement, for symbolic oppression attenuates the lived experience, while in turn drawing on it for sustenance. It is the hope of this project that by addressing the symbolic, a greater awareness for the need of equity in the lived can be attained, where the manifested influences of power and privilege are played out.

THE STUDY

The research and findings of this study focus on one specific curricula component of the Province of Alberta's Secondary School program. Social Studies is the subject area selected, with the emphasis the grade twelve "student basic" textbook. Recommended or supplementary texts for the Alberta grade twelve social studies are not included in this study given the specific difficulties surrounding the qualitative selection of relevant texts from such a large body of material. The intent of this study is to review program curricula which is frequently referenced by a selective student population, reviewing textual material from both grade twelve social studies programs offered - Social Studies 30 and Social Studies 33 - in the province of Alberta. To accomplish this all five Alberta grade twelve "student basic" textbooks are reviewed.

These five texts where reviewed comprehensively. All content was included regardless of the specific subject or theme. Data findings were then juxtapositioned against the thematic goals of this study. The intended outcome of this process was not simply to reveal and disclose specific textual bias in the selected material, but to produce a climate for revision, providing the opportunity for curricula planners, editors and writers to evaluate and reevaluate the relevancy of their product.

Of the textbooks selected for this study, all but one were written and published in Canada (A History of the Twentieth Century is of British origin). The often criticized direct American hegemony of secondary school curricula seems to have been circumvented here. However, this scenario, if anything, exaggerates the rationale for this analysis, as an attempt to consolidate textual meaning which may, or may not, be blatant, and discursively reinforced. The selected texts selected are as follows:

Baldwin, Douglas, et al. Ideologies. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1992.

Christison, Matt and Malcolm Walker and Victor A. Zelinski. Challenges of Citizenship. Toronto: John Wiley & Sons, 1991.

Couture, J.C. and Dennis Nosyk and Jim Parsons. A Changing World. Edmonton: Reidmore Books Inc., 1991.

Mitchner, E. Alyn and R. Joanne Tuffs. Global Forces of the Twentieth Century. Reidmore Books, 1991.

O'Callghan, Bryn. A History of the Twentieth Century. New York: Longman, 1987.

AN ANALYTICAL MODEL

It is difficult in decoding or deconstructing any textual material, to come away with a meaning regime which is not, at least to a degree, tempered by the process of the analyses itself. Objectivity is an underwriting axiom of any attempted study. But the normative involvement of the researcher remains an unavoidable necessity. An analysis must, therefore, be interpreted as a political act. By "political" one is to understand that an analysis expresses a position or perspective which sets it apart from another .

Required, in an analysis, is the interaction of researcher and text. This project is not exceptional in this regard. The attempt, here, is to engage knowledge forms, as transcribed in a multitude of symbolic ways, exposing the underwriting fluidity in acts which harbour currents of power, inequity, hierarchy and singularity. An assigned methodology, therefore, must deconstruct discourse which channels or limits meaning, affecting persons' or events, and review perspectives which are structural and/or functionalist in construct, exposing alternative processes of acting and being. At the centre of such a teleology is the necessity to question the most basic of assumptions on which the text builds its theoretical foundation. Reality assumptions which ignore the fluidic nature of human interpretation and knowledge stand as transcendental significations, functioning beyond temporal and situational realms of influence. "Transcendental Signification" (Burton and Carlen, 1979) boasts to the legitimacy of the discourse and is frequently utilized in both conveying and interpreting meaning.

Anchoring this work is a foundational dedication to "pragmatism" (Finlay, 1990), a sensitivity towards the need to reconstruct meaning in recognizable forms, succeeding the deconstructive act as a philosophical and ideological mechanism for interpretation. This perspective provides a sufficient latitude for a critical review of the textual material targeted for this study, while facilitating the deconstruction of the textual icons which colour interpretation and bias judgments. A successful analysis of these "basic" texts, selected for the Alberta grade twelve Social Studies program, is underwritten by a sensibility towards the interconnectedness of discourse and text, ie. how discourse constructs particularized textual understanding. To proclaim that all knowledge disperses in an endless progression of meaning is to ignore the material circumstances in which the information is disseminated, undermining the relevancy of the study. For despite manifesting a relevancy subject to the formulation of belief and meaning, the written text retains a formidable ability to influence the reader. An analyst bears a responsibility here, with the word responsible viewed in definitive terms.

Firstly, a responsible analysis is one which questions the integrity of any discourse which disempowers, isolates or excludes certain groups or individuals. This principle applies in matters of textual exclusion as well as cases of overt bias. Secondly, a responsible approach advocates a direction which involves the reader in the text historically. The relevancy of the text must establish preeminence over the imagined neutrality of the reader, whose participation becomes politicized upon interpreting the first symbol. Any reader, analyst, teacher or student, must be held accountable within this interactive process. It is important to treat this exchange as historical involving the reader as a participant in the event.

Thirdly, as it is plausible to claim that a text is a political instrument, for even an apparently neutral text legitimates all knowledge claims it does not review critically, it is equally valid to say that a text enunciates its own contradiction. For all texts attempt to legitimate truth claims, acquiescing the potentiality of alternative views or perspectives.

By failing to acknowledge contradiction or difference, a text effectively silences alternative knowledge claims, creating a potential crisis in legitimation. A responsible analysis is, thus, a critical one.

Finally, texts house many discourses all motivated by and acting upon interests of power. Circumvented, in most text, is an adequate explanation of why and how the particular discursive, and following from this, extra-discursive, discourses are validated. Reviewing power as an underwriting and inferential mechanism can provide needed insight. But central to an effective theory of discourse is an understanding which reviews the politics of signification, or how meaning itself is derived through language.

THE NATURE OF DISCOURSE:

It is among the primary functions of secondary school textbooks to make knowledge claims. What these claims are is a matter of considerable significance to educators, or at least should be. For the written text is designed with the calculative purpose of conveying meaning across generational boundaries. Constituting the effectiveness of this task, the text displaces the speech production process in a printed format which proves resistant over time. The textbook transfers knowledge independent of its author(s), delegating the text an authority status reinforced through its immutability (Olson, 1989: 266). Significant here, is that ownership itself is surrendered upon publication. The text may function as an intricate system of memory in which knowledge is passed down from one generation to another, but interpretation may vary across these boundaries. The extent of interpretive difference is, understandably, an impossible index to ascertain, given the distinguishable nature of each social moment, however, textbook use, accreditation and assimilation is profoundly affected by the particularity of environment and the influence of significant social actors, ie. teachers and/or parents.

But textbooks can and do reproduce meaning systems which are transcribed and accepted by a generalizable readership, and given a shared sense of social meaning, these interpretations may not vary significantly between individual actors. In manner of form, textualized knowledge transference is not dissimilar to forms practiced in oral cultures, with collective memory transferred through narrative (albeit devoid of certain stylized techniques of metre and rhyme which promote retainment), maintaining the fecundity of meaning along intergenerational lines (Havelock, 1989: 225). However, the written text remains indelible in a symbology which can be transmitted directly to the individual, untempered by elder, mentor or teacher. In formalized learning situations the dissemination of textual knowledge frequently may fall under the tutorial of a professional facilitator, yet older students frequently review much of their textual material independently. Frequently texts are read and/or studied on a student's own time, leaving class time open for supplementing lectures and evaluation. Thus a situation of vulnerability is created whereby the student is held directly responsible for interrelating textual data.

Research validates a resistance generated by students towards certain curriculum formats, particularly when an individual is given a perspective not easily reconciled to that person's specific world view or experiences (Willis and Apple, 1979: 102). Notwithstanding, in other situations a student will simply internalize the particular belief or knowledge structures manifested in the text. Classroom expectations often demand just such an allegiance. A displayed aptitude to master evaluatory exercises, premised on an ability to read, internalize and reiterate written textual material, most certainly demands the achieved comprehension, if not assimilation, of the information presented in these texts. Written texts create discursive parameters by which a student, in part, constructs his/her universe. These parameters by their nature are delimiting. Cherryholmes notes that despite institutional controls, a textbook author is given much greater latitude in designing a textbook than a student has in reading one (Cherryholmes, 1988: 52). The relationship between student and text is not a reciprocal one. The textbook facilitates an institutional function in listing and compartmentalizing knowledge in coded structures which affirmate its own authoritative role. Without positive teacher intervention a text assumes the advantage of power in a meeting which is, by its nature, asymmetrical.

If the knowledge contained within text were facts and facts were known to be as absolute as Plato's "forms", then perhaps the power dynamics associated in such a circumstance would defer to the priority of absorption of facts as an effective learning mechanism. However, such illusions are not born out in an empirical world. Knowledge claims can be fleeting and contradictory in essence. Foucault writes that, "knowledge does not exist apart from the constitutive interests which lead to its production" (Foucault in Cherryholmes, 1988: 52). Importantly, a discourse underwriting specific knowledge claims carries with it an orientation, a product of fluidic power differentials, reflective in the historic demeanor of a society. For Foucault, truth cannot be revealed without the presence of power. Foucault has been successful in constructing a genealogy of power in modern society, providing a dynamic and theoretical approach lacking in other explanations. For Foucault it is more important when examining texts or discourse forms to understand how they originated, or come to be what they are, rather than determining what they really mean. But while Foucault's perspective is a useful one in deconstructing the legitimacy of specific epistemological claims, claims are made which can be construed as overly deterministic.

For Foucault, power is not the property of particular persons or classes, but rather should be thought of as a complex shifting field of relations, whereby all are elements (Fraser, 1989: 63). Modern power, unlike its predecessor which was hierarchical and autocratic, is continuous, capillary, productive and exhaustive (Fraser, 1989). Power thus cuts across traditionally designated boundaries of definition, ie. class, hierarchy, gender. Foucault sees modernism as a project which must be abandoned, rejecting it on both "strategic" and "theoretical" grounds (Fraser, 1989). The relative inequities surrounding social relationships, articulated in discursive ways, cannot simply be redressed. Firstly, the effects of modern power are both insidious and omnipresent. Secondly, power materializes in forms which are both empowering and debilitating, and thirdly, change can only result in the shifting of power from one agent to another in predetermined forms. Change does not result in neutralization. Importantly, power is transmitted along a horizontal as well as vertical axis with discourse itself a product of these dynamics. In all circumstances systems of meaning and communication penetrate micropractices from surrounding macrosocial relationships (Cherryholmes, 1988: 88).

But many discursive practices are under determined, as negotiation can and does occur at the interactive social level. This can result in the interpretation and reinterpretation of particularized rules of structure and meaning. Power can be renegotiated through political efficacy. Furthermore, while power may be omnipresent and penetrative, it is also hierarchical in ways which consistently reinforce existing disparities. We can point fingers at our oppressors. Whether, or not, these disparities are deemed to be structurally determined, can not detract from their historical presence as occurrences which reflect empirical inequities of power. A need, therefore exists, at the discursive level for a critical approach, reviewing discourse as the political products of historical imbalances in power, as manifested through the hierarchical treatment of specific relationships of that power. The product prevails as a testimony to the under deterministic nature of the event or situation. The individual can and does alter his/her social environment. Clearly needed is a critical model which does not collapse under the contradictions of its own weight.

DISCOURSE AS MEANING:

It is the task of a discourse analysis to determine, not only the nature and extent of a particular textual knowledge product, but the validity claims behind that product. Much of the work in content analysis endeavors to extract from the text evidence supporting specific knowledge claims. However, missing in many of these quantitative studies are qualitatively distinguishable factors which serve to construct systems of meaning within the framework of the text, ie. the relevance of excluded material in a text may selectively alter context and thus derived meaning. The task is to build on a theory of discourse which issues an understanding of not only the textual content, but that content as the fruition of conditioned historical processes; worded otherwise, that content as text.

The social sciences have approached discourse in a multitude of perspectives and analysis forms. Common to all disciplines is an interpretation of discourse as a communicative medium, advancing specific knowledge claims. These claims may either alter or reinforce an actor's world view, but significantly, they remain politically charged and are never issued or received with semiotic indifference. As mentioned, even Foucault's critique of Modernism as a politic advances a normative appeal. Executing specific political regimes, Foucault incorporates a language and logic which is deterministic. Not only the "structuralists" rely on the temporal and spatial displacement of "the world", as viewed through "transcendental signification". One, after all, only speaks of the world symbolically, incorporating a pastiche of rules, assumptions, and laws which are purported to be both applicable and relevant. All discourse is underwritten by definitive and stylized signification involving primary assumptions about both the individual and her/his environment. Communication would prove troublesome indeed if this were not so.

But to say that some form of signification surrounds discourse forms and, thus, discourse interpretation is not tantamount to advocating a foundationalist understanding. A dog does not exist because one chooses to call it such, unlike the deviant who could never be so apart from the label. For Finlay (1990), such traditional interpretations of discourse are spurious. Categorized as "classical", Finlay rejects this approach as one which subscribes to a master narrative position. For Finlay a "classical" position represents:

> 1. A belief that facts precede discourse and that our experience of facts precedes our conscious grasp of them. This establishes the primacy of the signified.
>
> 2. Discourse is the transparent mediator between the conscious knowing subject and the object concept of knowledge. Signs refer to the transparent internal or external reality allowing representation.
>
> 3. The isolated human subject is both the source and author of discourse. The subject remains the point of origin of discourse with the authority to know and objectively state its object.
>
> 4. The objectivity of truth and meaning which denies that knowledge can be subjectively oriented through discursive functions.
>
> 5. The belief that knowledge may be possessed by a single knowing subject to the exclusion of all other subjects.
>
> 6. Scientific knowledge is irrefutable in its accuracy.
>
> 7. Models based on scientific theories extrapolating from their unquestioned position can be used to refer to the reality of objects under study.
>
> 8. Power is invested in the one who possesses the absolute, the fixed, the objective knowledge which gives them insight into what is true (Finlay, 1990: 7).

A "classical" position thus erects the person as knower, not unlike Descartes' thinker, in an objective world that is his or hers to know. Knowledge and language can thus be passed down through generations in "absolute" parcels. Africa is Africa because it was "discovered" by the European, as the symbol incorporates the code for the thing. One is not simply constructing a geographical reference here. This position, however, can only be reinforced and maintained by power, with a potential Galileo enveloped in each social formula.

Finlay claims that an effective revision of the above theoretical model must reject an absolute relationship between the signifier and the signified. For Finlay a "Modern" discourse breaks with the paradigm surrounding a "classical discourse". A "Modern" discourse should, thus, exhibit the following qualities.

1. A recognition that discursive proceduralities are the direct product of "habit" or "coding" forms which give meaning to discourse.

2. Acknowledge a subject which a discourse may act upon, while simultaneously signifying the subject as the product of that discourse.

3. Construct meaning and knowledge through the interrelation of signs, while inferences which are manifested as thought borrow from these meaning and knowledge forms.

4. Assume meaning only in shared existences.

5. Remain fluid and represented in every circumstance.

6. Appear as not inherently idealized, although it will assume normative positions. Structuralist presentations are often overcoded or ideological and therefore engage unacceptable signification.

7. Review discourse in recognition of the need for a discursive agenda, as any discourse transmits normative values.

8. View power as penetrating and encompassing, but also in hierarchical forms producing disparities of domination and submission.

In the "Modern" position the world pushes back on the individual, shaping knowledge and language regimes in ways which are unique to historical circumstance. Reality interpretations thus shift and contour to lived experiences. Symbols are agreed upon and shared, and can as easily be discarded. The Africa discourse may now be viewed as product, rather than artificer, a historical creation tempered by the qualities inherent in imperialism, xenophobia, racism and ignorance, or for some, paternalism and benevolence.

Problematic in the classical approach is the underwriting assumption that the signifier/signified relationship is by its nature an absolute one. Peter Winch writes, that when we speak of "the world" we are speaking in fact of what we mean by the expression, "the world" (Winch, 1958: 15). What Winch is describing here is not a construction of a world dependent on a Kantian like synthesis. Nor is it merely a structuralized conception, in the Saussurean sense. The use of notions like object, properties of an object, or cause and effect, presuppose a truth connecting our understanding with generalizable environmental behavior, adapted specifically while transcribing our world. To view the world in this way is simply that, one is working within a greater paradigm which renders certain assumptions commonplace. One's ability to extract truth is validated within the parameters of these chosen interpretations. A shift in conceptual ground can render a meaning system contradictory, or even unintelligible. Consider the interpretive dilemma of incorporating Western science with Christianity.

Decoding environmental phenomena is firstly, a historical act, secondly, an act of interpretation and thirdly, an act which is socially influenced. All three of these factors profoundly affect outcome and deserve attention. For Winch the signified, ie. "mountain", only achieves its social meaning at the moment that meaning is shared (Winch, 1958). This is not to say that the title "mountain" is not a political product drawing on the unveiling of historical factors. But merely that the chosen name is accepted or at least recognized by a significant community.

In substance, any definable and shared symbolic reference must draw on a history which accounts for that particular assigned meaning. Wittgenstein, in the Philosophical Investigations, posits that language creation and use is a social project found in lived human situations (Wittgenstein in Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 1972: 335). Language production and use then is bound up with a common social existence and the product which borrows or grows out of it. There are thus, by necessity, no crisscrossing or unifying structural themes which bind differing language forms. The life experiences or "games" which contribute to symbolic referencing are varied in their production and are therefore unique. For Wittgenstein language is socially created, circumstantially contingent and situationally relevant. To say that similar language systems employ symbols which describe or delineate complementing phenomena is only to say that similar historical conditions exist in the creation of each reference. When a phenomenon is described by two or more language systems, meaning will always vary along group and idiosyncratic dimensions, as genealogical differences occur.

Symbolic meaning, thus is not universally dispatched and determined by overriding structural factors. Meaning is historically derived interpreted and reinterpreted within a venue which is lived, normatively, interpreted and power laden. What is said implies what is not said, and what is said frequently affects what is done. In the study of social science, theories and postulates quite frequently feed back into a researcher's data base. At times this can result in the erection of a kind of "self fulfilling prophecy" as the intersection of discourses inevitably alter meaning. It can be argued that some scientific research has done more to create a particular societal affectation than define it. Gilbert, asks his readers to consider the influence Freud has had on the North American's "language, culture, and interpretation of self identity" (Gilbert, 1984: 31). Is the power in Freudian psychoanalysis harboured in its success at revealing the human psyche (consider meaning construction in the word "psyche" itself), or is success born out through the power of the theory to alter human interpretive behavior. Silverman, projects that the assembling of scientific data in the form of records or statistics is, in itself, not so much the product of the actual occurrence(s) of a particular phenomenon, but rather an indication of the individual decisions made upon the way by the researcher (Silverman, 1994: 67).

Any research situation regardless of its dependency on empirical observation and documentation takes on a normative dimension. As evidenced earlier, power manifests itself in both abject and insidious ways. Choices are made regarding the nature of the research, the parameters which limit data collection and the recording, documenting and refining of the extracted information. For Foucault, all generated knowledge reflects the "constitutive interests" which lead to its production. "Power makes truth possible" (Foucault in Cherryholmes, 1988: 139). Research decisions result in the selective exposition of textual material. But more importantly, power relations within the greater social milieu affect research decisions and publication. Discourses thus produce and are products of a given social climate, as language and social meaning interact.

The creation, editing and publishing of textual material borrows of these historical antecedents, formulating contemporaneous institutions and conventions. Texts expose discourses which are not discursively present in a process which redefines those which are, as meaning is transmitted at extra-discursive levels. Semiotic production and interpretation bias the discourse in diverse and often unanticipated ways. Said's work in "Orientalism" coalesces on the historical importance of Western literature and mythology in the construction and maintenance of an elitist Western self-definition, at the expense of the binary other, the "Oriental" (Said, 1979). Cherryholmes writes that while discourses give meaning to worlds, "history, culture, politics, economics, conventions and institutions give meaning to discourses" (Cherryholmes, 1988: 66). Texts which are pronouncedly sexist or racist, can thus transfer inferential meaning devoid of any overt transgression.

Even the direct transcription of scientific test phenomena is subject to equivocation. As individuals become involved in interpreting and cataloging their environment, variance will undoubtedly result. The quantum physicist Heisenberg found when conducting "wave packet" experimentation that the role of the interpretant significantly interacts with the testable phenomena, conditioning the sign formulations which result. In Heisenberg's specific example observable coordinates were not corresponding algebraically with momentum, as indeterminacy ruled that no quantum mechanical system could simultaneously possess an exact position and an exact momentum. Heisenberg's conception of the measurement process in physics emphasizes the active role of the scientist, who in the act of making measurements, interacts with the observed object and thus causes it to be revealed not as itself, but as a function of its measurement (Heisenberg in Britannica, 1984).

Hans Reichenbach, writes that the disparity of the symbols throughout a number of experiments prove to be the flaw in the "representationality" of scientific models and instruments. For Reichenbach, the joining of both wave and particle is not in the language of physics, but in a language which speaks about the language of physics and thus, does not refer to the physical object, but to possible descriptions of physical objects. The joining, therefore, falls into the "realm of the philosopher (Finlay, 1990:, 7).

The legitimacy of using scientific data as a transcendental benchmark for generating knowledge bases which are proclaimed absolute and contextually irrefutable, is questionable. Objects, fact and reality, in general, are not directly accessible to the consciousness and are, thus, recorded and disseminated as discourses which can alter context.

DISCOURSE AS CODE:

It is important in understanding discourse roles, as used in the transference or construction of knowledge systems, that perspective, bias and/or exclusion are not, by necessity, direct products of prejudicial structures (while they certainly may be in particular situations). While Michael Apple makes a sound argument against the oligarchic control exercised in the production and editing of textbooks in North America, biasing content (Apple, 1989), it does not follow that all textbook bias can be traced back to oppressive structures within a society, or within the text itself. Although certainly the above example circumscribes an area of hierarchical power abuse within the North American context.

Discourse, however, harbours a perspective and, therefore, a bias. This is not to validate structural or systematic definitions. While such examples might serve as sound resource tools, they will, ultimately, produce misleading ontologies. To replace one transcendental signification with another does very little to enhance meaning or bolster accurate discourse interpretation. To say that all discourse is class related, or patriarchal, is to deny alternative paths of meaning or understanding.

In C.S. Peirce's formulation of the triadity he unveils a model for interpreting the conventional signfier/signified relationship which moves beyond the structuralist orientation. Peirce's model hinges on the triadic relationship between the "Object", "Representamen" and "Interpretant" (Finlay, 1990). Important to this model is the inclusion of the "interpretant", or subject, who, present or not, enters into the discursive relationship. For Peirce, the interpretant is at the heart of the sign relationship (although not in the Cartesian sense). It is not required that the interpretant actually exists, a future existence suffices. Peirce thus escapes the "classical" trap, whereby a language is merely a prescribed instrument connecting the knowing subject and the object. The Object-Representemen-Interpretant relationship supports an affinity or dynamic which underwrites the fluidity of meaning. By seeing the interpretant as a sign, Peirce acknowledges this. Character, authorial intention, receiver effect and socio-historical background, all enter into the sign relationship both as discourse is produced and interpreted. To understand this relationship is to understand textual meaning as something which is produced only after the reader encounters the script. Both meaning and subjectivity are created and recreated by this encounter. The text takes on meaning as the student consumes it, but not without affecting the student in return.

Important to the Peircean model is the conception of habit fields. For if all discursive and extra-discursive moments are directly contingent on the relative components of that triadic situation, how can one explain hierarchical power relationships or hegemonic discourse? How do we know that two readers can extract a similar meaning from a text? One response might be to deny the existence of any semi-permanent or patterned relationship between the signifier and the signified. But this approach would handcuff a theorist to an apolitical and relativistic world. Peirce's alternative lies in the creation of the habit field. Among the infinite relations of sign-fields, Peirce claims that fields of habits may be temporarily isolated. Heisenberg titles such configurations "potentia", as signs are isolated within temporal and spatial dimensions. The formation of these networks result in the creation of socially binding meaning systems, ie. ideologies, and can promote shared interpretations of realities which exhibit marked differences. Discourse lies at the very foundation of this social transference of meaning. Thus a word like "love" can transmit a seemingly universal image to a consumer.

Habits, however, possess no inherent meaning of their own outside of the signs used to name them, although they are often perceived as real by the individual. The networking of habit fields as discourse often results in transcendental signification, which when shared across a large enough community become part of that society's knowledge or belief base. For Eco, the intersection of discourses contribute to a coding process normalizing and shaping perceived realities within a community (Eco in Finlay, 1990).

Over coding, however, can lead to ideologies or ingrained belief systems which are difficult to recode or break. It is, thus, important to understand the implications of overcoding in a lived world. Firstly, as a discourse achieves meaning only in shared realities, all coding involves a setting which is both lived and historical. Secondly, while habit fields or coded networks have no inherent status of their own, their interpretation and reinterpretation profoundly affects lived environments. Cherryholmes writes:

> One can conceive of discourse as contingent on practise which is the product of generalizable norms and values, which can roughly translate to ideology. These shared arrangements and belief control the way we conduct thought and practise ... As ideologies intertwine with power individuals accept, believe and internalize explanations and justifications for the asymmetries of their social world (Cherryholmes, 1988: p4).

For Cherryholmes, we choose our facts according to commonly held beliefs which are both the products of history and our attempt to transcribe that history. That is not to say that we do not interact and observe our surrounding world, but that the ways in which we interpret that world reflects discourses previously laid down as meaning.

Finlay reinforces such an interpretation, but adds that interpretations of the world which become overtly structured, or foundationalist, are in danger of dispersing under their own contradictions (Finlay, 1990). For example, one can view society as the simple accumulation of the premeditated actions and behaviors of a public, an organism which is fueled by the functioning will and inherent abilities of its constituents. Inequality can be explained in such a world as both necessary and natural, as members simply fulfill their demanded roles with expected social remuneration. Inequality under this pretense is then acceptable. Yet exploitation often underwrites its own dissolution, as actors organize and resist powerful hegemonic forces within a society.

Extreme relativism, or the shedding of all coded meaning, however, handcuffs both the actor and the analyst. To avoid the attraction of a Poststructuralist vacuum Finlay, as does Cherryholmes, advocates a form of critical pragmatism in confronting the dispersed and often contradictory nature of discourse. To say that master-narratives are constructs of history and power and can not be attributed to indelible physiological or communal traits is not to say that all narratives are the same. Even Nietzsche, unquestionably a profound influence towards the conceptualization and legitimation of the Postmodernist enterprise, does not totally survive his self installed relativistic world.

Nietzsche's criticisms towards absolute or synthetic epistemological systems are made very clear as with this criticism of Kant:

> The height of sadistic pleasure is reached when reason in its self-contempt and self-mockery decrees that the realm of truth does indeed exist but that reason is debarred from it. In the Kantian concept of the "noumenal" character of things we may discern a vestige of this prurient ascetic split which enjoys turning reason against itself. For the noumenal character, to Kant, signifies that aspect of things about which the intellect knows only that it can never comprehend it... Let us, from now on be on guard against the hallowed philosophers' myth of a "pure, will-less, painless, timeless knower". Let us beware of the tentacles of such contradictory notions as "pure reason", "absolute knowledge", "absolute intelligence"... All seeing is potentially perspective and so is knowing (Nietzsche, 1956: 225).

However, Nietzsche also expresses a need for an ethic - "the will to power" - from which meaning can be rooted. Cherryholmes acknowledges the difficulties one can encounter in making ethical decisions regarding the inherent value of a particular discourse. Problematic here is the ability of power, which may not gravitate along the traditionally recognized hierarchical lines, to bias seemingly objective decisions. But it is also necessary to direct input into a world whose ideals and values are negotiated. Cherryholmes writes that "curriculum in part is a study of what is valued and given priority and what is devalued and excluded" (Cherryholmes, 1988: 133). In a society facts and structures are selected affecting discourses accordingly. It is not simply a problem in constructing a system of analysis which reveals and transcribes (the process is actually closer to translation) these facts "ceteris paribus". Decisions affect what we perceive knowledge to be.

THE REASSEMBLING OF DISCOURSE:

Despite the inherent fluidity of discourse, coding remains a natural product of social intercourse, retained as meaning within a social milieu across definitive spatial and temporal plains, a phenomenon not unlike that expressed in the retentive ability of the human eye, where images are preserved and merged with others to produce the illusion of continuity. This frequently results in misunderstandings specific to the essential nature and roles of discourse forms. Critical pragmatism, as a school of inquiry, must endeavor to clarify these parameters. The importance lies not in contriving teleological solutions but in the deconstruction of such, leading to alternative perspectives which themselves are realized within the limitations of their own deconstruction. Necessary, is the need to discriminate between the variant affectations of power, within a society, as discourse(s) become coded in ways which typecast and enslave. In discourse analysis the task lies in deconstructing these fields without erecting impenetrable replacements.

In Burton and Carlen's Official Discourse the "trick" of deconstruction lies in the initial construction of the "other". Burton and Carlen write:

> Discourse is conditioned within discourse in a layered metonymy of linguistic economy. At any specific conjuncture "new knowledge" can be embedded in discourses where the knowledge-effect is but one amongst many others and where its power-effect is metonymized as a yet untheorized Other. At the same time, within the arbitrary boundaries of any specified discourse, subsist also the fractured constituents of an Other which mitigates against closure (Burton and Carlen, 1979: 129).

For the authors, discourse always embeds a discourse striving against the legitimation of resolution. As knowledge is always conditioned by perspective, thus any attempt to institute theoretical closure can not occur without silencing alternative possibilities. Foucault posits that any manifested discourse stands as the "repressive presence" of what that discourse does not say, as things which are not said exist and thus undermine all things which are (Foucault in Burton and Carlen, 1979: 84). Here lies the significance of the "other". To encourage verisimilitude, and legitimation, texts often construct discourse forms which hide the presence of the "other". What effectively transpires is the effacement of alternative perspectives and voices which can call into question the legitimacy of the argument. The latent contradiction of a "fact" is validated given the binary nature of many descriptive language forms. To say that something "is", is also to say that that particular thing conveys qualities which can not exist as its opposite. The legitimation of a particular discourse will inevitably disguise other discourses. Contradictions, however, can lead to the disclosure of the "other", or the annihilation of the purported truth.

The deconstructionist model developed by Burton and Carlen is effective at exposing differential power and the resulting affects of overcoding. It is, however, important to realize that differential power and ideology will always exist, regardless of one's intention. The exposure then of disequalibrium is not a qualitative issue in this sense. The task lies in a normative realm whereby the researcher's own input will remain subject to review.

But this is not to claim that the analyst should not, or cannot, act. For simply in one's passive compliance a discourse receives validation through the "interpretant" function. In a reinterpretation of "Speech Act Theory" as forwarded by Austin and Quine, Cherryholmes argues that texts are discursive speech acts that exist in dimensional realms. "The text is less structure than structuration" (Cherryholmes, 1988: 8), remaining contingent on the created processes and institutions of the actions and choices of significant actors, ie. the readers, teachers etc. No form of acquiescence, on the part of the reader, can be construed as apolitical, as the indulgent or naive reader complements the legitimation process. The interpretive act is vital to textual meaning and thus must be a critical act.

Habermas makes the claim that discourses are translated into social structures which have the potential to pose a threat to one's social identity (Habermas in Sydie, 1994). A society may impose its rules on relationships as relationships become subjected to legal or political requirements. For Habermas validity (overcoding) claims may be dismantled through discursive practices. Here irony and fiction can be used as effective examples. Habermas links speech-act theory to social action, through a study of society in a theory of communication. Important is the differentiation between "strategic action", a discourse based upon the Weberean notions of instrumental rationality, and "communicative action", which allows, through consensus, the breaking of old validity claims and the establishment of new ones. Thus the creative potential exists for a modern discourse as promoted through discursive acts.

Criticism, however, exists directly targeted at Habermas' system involving “communicative action”. Firstly, one may never transcend the forces of power which surreptitiously underpin a society. For Foucault, these forces distort perception, motive and meaning at the intersection of the "body". Secondly, Habermas' system itself can be challenged as eurocentric and patriarchal (Fraser, 1989: 139). The problem here occurs with Habermas' systemic interpretation. Claiming that a discourse must exist as a negotiated outcome, Habermas locks the process into a rule governed system which is contradictory. There is no evidence that such a system advocates equitable discursive relationships. There is good argument to suggest it does not (Frazer, 1989).

What is required are ways to expose oppressive inequities within discourse forms without replacing them with others. Here the use of irony can be effective, not unlike the approach advocated by Burton and Carlen. As irony, one must endeavor to expose a discourse as a semiotic representation of the world which always conveys an opposite, or its own contradiction. Discourses remain, (1) symbolic and (2) political interpretations of the "world" which is transcribed. Irony as a tool is beneficial in providing an "infinite negativity", exposing and deferring meaning in ways which deconstruct discourse forms. Finlay promotes irony as a useful mechanism in stripping text of its "classical" pre dispositions, ie. analyticity, true/false value systems, and systematization. For Finlay the exercise of deconstruction is necessary to promote a discourse approach which:

> is continuous, progressive and productive; conveys constant interaction of various discourses and their situating fields; replaces representation by re-presentation; emphasizes the materiality of the discourse as opposed to its referent or signified; acknowledges relativity, indeterminacy of truth, or the object of knowledge;

> emphasizes the mobility of the moments of observation and the objects of observation; stresses the constant interaction of various discourses and situating fields (Finlay, 1990: 20).

The production of discourse for the analyst, however, proves problematic, as discussed above, with any implied meaning remaining a product of decisions which are normative and, therefore, can defer to other interpretations of meaning. The goal is to adopt a pragmatic position which is at the same time critical and open to reinterpretation and negotiation. One must examine or create a discursive reality which is both lived and differentiated according to the needs of its participants. Fraser writes, "that to say that needs are culturally constructed and discursively interpreted is not to say that any "need" interpretation is as good as any other" (Fraser, 1989: 181). Constructs like oppression, hierarchical power, and equity achieve significant and lasting meaning in a world which exhibits the qualities associated with such signification on a day to day basis. Effective theory or analyses must remain rooted in the empirical trenches of these lived moments. It, therefore, remains the challenge of any analysis to avoid, where possible, the "classical" trap while producing text which possesses a direct and sufficient relevancy to the world from which it is generated. The methodology created and used in this thesis attempts to bridge this rift.

CHAPTER 2 - METHODOLOGY

It is helpful in understanding text, particularly text comprising school curricula, that commonalties exist specific to knowledge claims as they are configured around a society's reality views. Constructing a methodology charged with the task of reviewing and reinterpreting textual material, then, requires a sensitivity towards the dispensation of such truth claims, especially those claims which underwrite the primary assumptions and beliefs of a community. All text is historically situated and displays the discursive products of power, with textual production the definable outcome, as specific historical forces, persons and events shape discourse. The project is not simply constituted in ontological realms, but underwrites discourse as the manufactured product of specific actors and actions.

Central to the understanding of a text as the compilation of meaning, is the interplay of discourses intersecting and dispersing in a multiplicity of perspective. In deciphering textual meaning a reader is confronted by a rift separating what is claimed discursively to be true or valid and the extra-discursive, disguised within the symbolic arrangement of the text itself, which may or may not reinforce the discursive project. Discursive truth claims posited by texts are done so at the expense of their own qualification or contradiction. "Other" perspectives or conditioners exist, extra-discursively, within a text's symbolic order, by nature incommensurate with the central discourse. The "other", as refined by Burton and Carlen (1979), to whom this chapter owes much in terms of its theoretical development, if exposed can force a crisis in textual legitimation, affecting the plausibility of the source. For example, the frequent reliance by texts on assumptions of gender or class facilitate conclusions which might otherwise seem spurious given another ideological reading. Meaning, thus, can evolve both at discursive and extra-discursive levels of discourse formation requiring that a discourse analysis avoid a myopic approach which can severely delimit data.

Every discourse, at some point, confronts a potential crisis in legitimacy. Particular and differing methods are used to mask this crisis, many which are observable, as discourse often follows expository veins seeking to legitimate argumentative constructs through closure. But closure itself becomes difficult and precarious as a text may confine the reader to one conceptual area or perspective at the expense of another. Particular methods or techniques serve to conceal the "other", but often can expose it as well. The following methodology, if properly used, can function in isolating and reviewing symbolic processes, through deconstruction, which operate to conceal or ignore multiplicities of meaning in written text. The legitimation process used within a source distorts meaning by endorsing discourse forms which supersede alternatives. Legitimation is always underwritten by this semiotic power and exists as testimony to the unequal relationships which exist within a social setting. The text is a product of these historical factors and does not exist without them.

Ideally required in an analysis is a methodology which exposes both latent and contradictory meaning within a source. Alternate discourses must be juxtapositioned against more dominant perspectives which control the discursive flow of the text. Incorporating an understanding of discourse (developed in Chapter 1), then, can engage the researcher in the multifarious world of hidden textual meaning. The following model is to be directed toward this end. It, however, is intended as a tool and not an underwriting structure.

AN ANALYTICAL FORMAT

It is necessary in outlining a methodology to highlight specific areas of discourse production where choice is exercised. Included here are both the paradigmatic and syntagmatic areas of text creation. The term paradigmatic refers to discourse as substance, or what is said or written. Paradigmatic components are always selected at the expense of other discourses.

The term syntagmatic refers to discourse as a sequentially organized medium. It is through this specific ordering that the text gains power as a discursive mechanism. Particular techniques incorporated in text are entrusted with the task of creating a plausibility in a rhetorical quest to legitimate a discourse. Even the seemingly absurd achieves normalcy in this manner. More importantly, however, is the role of the syntagmatic in maintaining a familiarity within discourse, as underwriting currents of power are reinforced and perpetuated.

Observing both the paradigmatic and syntagmatic realms as zones of discourse creation and recreation, an applied methodology must endeavor to account for both, remembering that these spheres are integrated within the production process, with any conceptual division remaining an artificial one. However, particular areas can be targeted within each of these divisions providing a structure to the process of analysis. While drawing on Burton's and Carlen's 1979 work Official Discourse this chapter is also indebted to Parker's (1992) text Discourse Dynamics in providing example from which the following model has grown. A conceptual breakdown appears in the following.

PARADIGMATIC

A. THE QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP

In determining authorship, it is necessary to note the formative arrangements between the reader and addresser. These relationships can be better understood as products anchored through the text rather than the author, as the discourse flows out of a historically integrated medium. When reviewing the "question of authorship" the researcher must treat a text as the articulation of perspectives which can be traced back to a specific source or "authorship" construct. Specific inquiries can take the form of questions directed at the text. The following questions were used in the course of this analysis.

1. Why was the discourse written? - Reasons or rationales are often included in text structures but in many cases they advocate particular discourse paths that mask both alternative discourses and underwriting political agendas. These non disclosed paths or

policies belong to the realm of the "other", symbolically sustained at the extra-discursive level. A process which reviews alternative discourse patterns within a text can be used in assessing the validity of a rationale. Often many source discourses which will aid in determining authorship are excluded from the original text completely and are, thus, more difficult to review. It is, however, important to remember that discourses may be excluded from a text and still indirectly referenced, ie. contradiction, binary opposition, irony.

2. Is the text over familiar to a particular social group? - As actors within a societal framework, many may be ignored while others are directly or indirectly referenced, eg. White Western Male.

3. What tacit reader knowledge is assumed? - It is beneficial to read the text with regard to specific knowledge expectations which the text can use for both the purposes of inclusion and exclusion.

4. What historical underpinnings contribute to the authorial persona created? - Evaluating text as a product of historical processes can elucidate authorial qualities familiar with specific ideals of social organization, eg. "Victorian" or state bureaucracies.

5. Does the authorship feign neutrality? - Ask how the authorship relates to the text. Often mechanism feigning neutrality are used to legitimate certain knowledge claims.

6. Does the Authorship work from authority? - If knowledge claims are promoted and backed through credentialism the impetus can be to intimidate an obsequious readership.

B. THE QUESTION OF READERSHIP

Again one is not targeting a specific individual or subject here, but a derived persona. Determining the readership is not about exposing the reflexive self which internalizes a discourse but rather constructing a subjectivity, one sharply in contrast to the alternate "other" (Burton and Carlen, 1979). All text presupposes a reader. However, what or who that reader should be transpires in the act of signification. For example, how does the text manufacture ideal types, on gender, love, marriage, masculinity, etc. By reflecting on how subjectivity is created symbolically through the text one can possibly better understand the text itself.

1. To whom does the text appear to be addressing? - It may be acknowledged by many that professional journals limit readership in ways which other texts do not, ie. vocabulary, assumed background knowledge, targeted narration. However, all discourse is delimiting by constructing specific subjectivities which the reader must assume if he or she wishes to partake in the communication process. Determining textual subjectivity can aid in its deconstruction.

2. How does the text exclude? - Listed here are specific ways in which a text limits readership. Language, class, theoretical approach can all be exclusionary factors in a

text. As in empirical settings, resistance is often generated at the threshold of exclusion in a process of signification which many cannot adhere to. One might expect meaning regimes to shift significantly in a text given a feminist or "gay" reading. Whom must the reader become to be included?

3. What must the reader know? - Knowledge expectations underwriting textual discourse can shape both political and philosophical contexts as well as delimiting readership in quantitative ways. In certain cases the reader is not only excluded, he/she is never in the "game".

C. THE QUESTION OF THE OBJECT

The object of a discourse is, firstly, that which is shaped and legitimated through discursive means. But by its nature the object of a discourse, a signification limited in breadth or perspective, is underwritten, extra-discursively, by the silent "other". The object of any text, even when discursively supported, exists as its own potential contradiction. Thus attempts will be made to legitimate an object exposing for the analyst both the nature of that object and existing contradictions, as evidenced through alternative discourses.

However the object can also be viewed as the articulated "desire" by the authorship to engage a text, politically, in a particular way (Burton and Carlen, 1979). Here the object is both supported discursively and extra-discursively. In official discourse, a report may in appearance advance itself as a resounding indictment of institutional abuse, while its more accurate undisclosed raison etre is that of sanitization. The object not only represents the act of deception but the political will to deceive.

The object of any discourse and thereafter, text, need not be the one specifically and overtly stated in the text itself. Both connotative and denotative mechanism are used in establishing object and one needs to remain cognizant of such differences, ie. sarcasm, satire and other forms of irony, techniques using binary opposition, tautologies and outright deception.

1. What is the object of the text? - Needed here is a determination of what is actually being conveyed by the text. Many discourses will be emphasized but many more will remain underdeveloped. The object of any text pertains to those discourses selected. However it remains vital in the fulfillment of an analysis to focus on the discourses themselves and not the explicitly denoted statements overtly represented in a discursive situation. A fireside chat by a politician reminding children to display qualities of obedience and loyalty towards their parents could be focused more at the level of political altruism than filial observances. One cannot assume because an intention is stated that it is in fact the intention.

2. How is the object legitimized within the text? - Here it is necessary to question or examine any contradictions which occur in establishing the object. Contradiction remains inherent to the legitimation process and assumes a relationship with both the object and the other of any discourse.

D. THE QUESTION OF THE OTHER

All dominant discourse confronts a discursively absent other. This "other" remains as the nemesis to the successful legitimation of the object, at the same time making the object possible, for while a discourse avoids, or attempts to excise, the "other", the "other" silently incorporates its cause or desire. A text which is produced to sanitize or mitigate an alleged injustice is silently motivated by its reason to do just that. Such can be the intended fate of the Royal Commission, although most certainly not the explicitly stated public one.

Exposure of the "other" can bring on a crisis situation whereby a discourse can lead to its own nullification. The other, while part of the symbolic fabric of the text, remains extra-discursive and incommensurate with the discursive text. Discourses which are contradictory to the object of a text exist at this level of signification and are detrimental to the legitimation process of a text. As meaning is symbolically created so it is recreated.

The "other" in its purest state is simply the conception of an opposing or contradicting signification by which a discourse or text loses logical credibility. The "other" need not stand in opposition to the stated claims of the text but merely reinforces the "object" of that text through its silence. Determining the "other" as an alternative perspective is to expose contradiction, bias, and political will within the legitimation process. For if the discursive text is promoted as the ideal image, the other is the material reality (Burton and Carlen, 1979).

1. What assumptions underwrite contributing paradigms or premises? - In economics assumptions often manifest themselves as principles or laws. In other declared disciplines the methods may vary. However, by necessity, all knowledge claims predicated on particularized background assumptions remain bound by the validity and soundness of those assumptions. In secondary social studies texts economic principles are often sported as explanations for obtuse and complicated social phenomena enabling the authorship to avoid the "other", or explanations which answer to the empirical nature of that phenomena. Food prices which are prohibitively expensive are often described as the products of an upward sloping demand curve, and poverty the misallocation of scarce resources. Accountability is, thus, diminished and responsibility is waved.

2. Are philosophical assertions made without adequate qualification? - Any assertion offered as a knowledge or truth claim requires qualification to some degree. Many claims such as those concerning the properties of fire for example, are well documented and researched and thus accepted without the inclusion of complementing data But other claims are often broader in dimension. Particular to this second group are assertions which require significant philosophical clarification and substantiation, ie. ideals associated with human ontology. One cannot make the claim that consumption and happiness are always positively related or that one parent families are in some state

of imbalance without significantly qualifying that assertion empirically, philosophically, or otherwise.

3. Does a discourse turn back on itself? - This event frequently occurs in passages of meta narrative whereby one discourse is accompanied by another which contradicts the precepts of its counterpart, ie. "don't get me wrong, I am not prejudice". The other is exposed here at the point of contradiction.

4. How many perspectives or explanations are given? - If an argument or text is advanced from several perspectives some of which conflict, it becomes more difficult to accuse that particular source of portraying bias. Most matters of text chosen for inclusion in a social studies curriculum are of a complicated enough constitution to warrant an evaluation which examines more than one perspective.

5. Does a discourse use technique to manipulate other discourse? - Listed below are several types which are used.

5.1 - Judicial Satisfaction: use of language which supports its own position, ie. "undoubtedly".

5.2 - Common Sense Argument (Burton and Carlen, 1979): discourse will appeal to a universal culturally understood sensibility within a society, or what is deemed one's common sense, ie. "the policeman must have practiced legal search procedures, as he knew that his evidence would be found inadmissible otherwise".

5.3 - Empiricist Subjectivism (Burton and Carlen, 1979): is the use of discourse in ways which presuppose the thoughts or opinions of others, ie. "it must have been their opinion that he was lying".

5.4 - Positivist Empiricism (Burton and Carlen, 1979): is the use of certain data derived historically then superimposed on a specific discourse situation in the attempt to infer a conclusion. This technique is frequently used in History text, ie. "it was well proven in the First World War that aggression is not a defense".

5.5 - Fraternal Critique (Burton and Carlen, 1979): is often used as a form of justification in discourse whereby the narrative identifies with a subject out of fraternal sentiment, ie. "She had been dealt a terrible blow that day with her dismissal and all, so she should not be blamed".

5.6 - Affirmation of the Object (Burton and Carlen, 1979): usually occurs as the restating of the "object" in an attempt to validate a truth claim, ie. "we reject such an idea as being preposterous".

5.7 - Negation: the denial of a particular perspective or discourse as a possibility, ie. "such an advancement could never have been offered to a man of his education".

5.8 - Natural Reason (Burton and Carlen, 1979): similar to a Common Sense Argument but appealing solely to the principles inherent in logic. The technique itself oversteps the use of such principles through extrapolation which cannot be supported, ie. "she was the only person there and had to have done it".

5.9 - Narrative Neutrality: is a narrative attempt through the authorship to occupy a neutral position attempting to lend the discourse a validity which is ill-deserved, ie. "thus, it appears as if communism is truly an inefficient system".

5.10 - Binary Opposition: is frequently used to imply a particular quality or category of qualities through either the denial or validation of the binary opposite(s). What is significant here is that legitimation is pursued through that which is not stated, ie. "the British were relieved to be home again where customs were restrained, traditions were conservative and the people went about their ways in a state of peaceful sophistication".

5.11 - Temporal Neutrality: reflects an attempt by a discourse through meta discourse or some other means to suspend a text beyond the stream of events which occur in historical dimensions. A discourse is then free to review historically placed events or epochs without drawing dimensional links to the here and now of the text. Governments frequently release disturbing information a set period after the occurrence of the event(s) on the pretense that there is no substantive connection to be made between the "then and now", ie. "this period of mass genocide marks a low point in human existence".

5.12 - Value Loading: represents the choice of specific associations through word choice or connotative reference. Included here are the juxtapositioning of discourses which alter textual meaning. This can occur through individual word choices, ie. "foreign born man" or "working class decision", or the superimposition of a picture or quotation on another discourse with significant contextual differences, ie. an endorsement by Lincoln advocating the merits of individual free choice appearing below a government discourse promoting unilateral tax cuts.

5.13 - Equivocation or Ambiguity: occurs when a word or discourse formerly associated with one meaning is used with a different association in latter developments of the same text, ie. the words "necessary force" may be manipulated in a government inquiry from a discourse which is laid down historically through jurisprudence to one which justifies the shooting of demonstrators at a recent event.

In the process of determining what in terms of inclusive and exclusive elements signifies meaning in a discursive text it is necessary to review specific factors which directly condition paradigmatic discourse production and reproduction. Discourse layering, historical circumstances and the influences of power are three such conditioning elements.

E. LAYERING OF DISCOURSE

Any discourse or paradigm borrows from other discourses in establishing its position (Parker, 1992). Other existing discourses also contradict dominant discursive modes and expose weaknesses in paradigms. Text is thus both layered and crisscrossed with discourse forms which condition meaning. The act of exposing contradiction within a text is commensurate to revealing such alternative discourse forms. All text should be reviewed and scrutinized in acknowledgment of discourse layering.

1. Does a specific discursive statement result in the intersection of two or more conflicting discourses? - Some racist arguments borrow from Christian or scientific information which is removed from its original context (Parker, 1992). Contradiction is exposed at this intersection point. Such situations of conflict frequently occur in discourses which endeavor to legitimate normative assertions.

2. Is a discourse premised upon a "Transcendental Signified"? (Burton and Carlen, 1979) - Many discourses attempt to legitimate themselves by drawing upon an metaphysical, ontological or scientific absolute as a truth base. Various religious, philosophical or scientific assertions are often used to underpin a discourse which begs of its own question, ie. "the Bible is infallible in its wisdom because it says so in the Bible". Furthermore, the Transcendental Signified is used to substantiate theoretical perspectives which are untenable without it, ie. structural functionalism or economic determinism. Closure cannot be imposed on the strength of such an assertion and introduces a potential crisis in legitimation.

3. Are two or more incommensurate discourses used to express a single ideal? (Parker, 1992) - The problem here arises when one discourse or ideal is formed from two or more discourses which are distinct and different. In economics the term "free enterprise" offers such an example whereby two very distinct discourses are amalgamated and used as one highly inaccurate denotation.

4. How does meta discourse colour discourse? (Crismore, 1989) - Meta discourse should be reviewed within the context of a discourse or text as potentially biased discourse which can alter meaning. The omniscience neutrality of narration must be treated as a discourse deserving attention.

F. DISCOURSE AS A HISTORICAL PROCESS

Discourse evolves into and disperses from other discourses, historically expressing a dynamic which can significantly alter meaning in written text over time. It is, therefore, required that both a chosen discourse and the resulting discourse analysis be reviewed in a historical context and seen as a conditioned product of lived processes. Past events and sensibilities are often reviewed through text ahistorically, superimposing values and definitions which are alien to the historical context. But significant contextual variances also occur across spatial dimensions as different historical processes contour socio-cultural realities. Thus, meaning and meaning systems may change markedly between one societal reference and another.

1. Does a discourse approach a subject historically? (Parker, 1992) - This issue is discussed in some detail above. A discourse which fails to acknowledge a text's responsibility to treat subject matter historically alters meaning in significant ways.

2. Does a discourse reflect back on itself as a historical creation? - All discourse is the product of historical processes and should reflect on itself as such. Any bid for neutrality as exercised through the authorship is misleading and inaccurate.

3. Does a discourse create and recreate other discourse forms ahistorically? - Some discourses may establish a prominence which so profoundly affects other discourses as to historically alter those discourses. The result is a discourse which actually recreates itself

(Transcendental Signified). Freudian theory is a fitting example to use here. In some ways Freud's theory has done more to alter the human psyche than explain it.

4. How does discourse draw on other discourses? - All discourse historically incorporates other discourse forms which when examined can help one better understand the transference of meaning structures within the text.

G. THE ROLE OF POWER

The role of power in discourse production is significant as a conditioning element in that its effects dramatically influence those of the other two. All discourse, discursive or otherwise, brandishes the effects of power as a interactive mechanism. The creation of a discourse, its exclusion or inclusion as a resource and the weight or status which is attached to it, is contingent on the relative dispensation of power mechanisms within a society. Of particular issue here are disparities in power which can lead to, or surface from, hierarchical power structures within that society.

1. Does the discourse appeal to an external authority for legitimation? - If a discourse does not make such an appeal, whose authority will endorse the discourse? Teachers, governments, interest groups and corporate firms all to varying degrees hold vested interests in the publication and distribution of educational discourse. It is, therefore, important to weigh the potential influences these parties hold for the average consumer. Do specific paradigms, images, or attitudes reflect the particularized interests of these

parties? It is vital that one's research remains in touch with the specifics of how the intersecting lines of power are aligned and played out in discursive and extra-discursive ways.

2. What truth claims are made within a discourse? - The sanctioning of particular truth claims within a discourse will often lead back to abuses of power or ideology within that context.

3. Is the discourse exclusionary? - Discourses always make prerequisite demands on the individual. Discourses which unfairly make demands on the specific "culture capital" or knowledge base of the reader are disempowering and exclusionary.

4. Are discourses used to build or convey hierarchical structures within a text? - Text which selects or establishes normative based nomenclatures emphasize some discourses while diminishing others. History texts are often guilty of this transgression by holding some events or actions as significant while others are either rejected, downplayed or ignored.

5. Does a discourse practice editorial bias? - Here one normative position is promoted over another overtly without significant qualification. These occurrence are sometimes blatant and easily noticed, but other times not. Sometimes such indiscretions may be used to mask more insidious abuses of power.

6. Is a discourse underwritten by other discourses? - Ideological slogans and definitions are often used to legitimate a discourse or conceal the "other" from emerging. These discourses may be laden with contradictions if scratched below the surface, ie. the heavily loaded connotations that words like communist or red" bring in the United States.

7. Is the language used within a discourse appropriate? - Language selection, connotation, and the use of binary opposition all successfully alter meaning within a text. Overcoding or ideology can be the result, a direct product of unequal power differentials as manifested in discourse.

8. Is one social group advanced over another? - This question deals more often with exclusion than more overt forms of discrimination. It is important here to ask who the discourse is about and why.

9. Is bias and discrimination hidden under the veil of empiricism? - Discourses are often conveyed through carefully chosen empirically based narratives which conceal contrasting perspectives. Many newspaper articles are written with the pretense of objectivity, but downplay or efface other contributing discourses which are vital in establishing context, for example, it was reported in the North American press that Chilean civilian riots disrupted Santiago as the people denounced the "oppressive" Allende regime. But the papers failed to mention that the marchers numbered less than

500, the majority of which were spouses of high ranking members in the Pinochet administration.

SYNTAGMATIC

A. TAUTOLOGICAL FALLACIES

A discourse will sometimes restate an issue, objective or problem for the purpose of review or clarification. If this process is carried out without significant equivocation other discourses can result which promote or enhance the ability of that text to convey meaning. However, meaning is often altered or distorted through the process of tautology. If this is the case meaning can be manipulated and an inductive fallacy has been committed. The tautological fallacy is often committed when a research question is reworked into other question forms which vary significantly from the original. The new target questions can then be researched and answered, circumventing the original subject of inquiry.

1. Does a discourse or text rework research questions or inquiries? - This technique as discussed above is commonly used in public and/or historical inquiries where a party may conceal a hidden political agenda. By distorting or manipulating the focus of the inquiry, responsibility or accountability can be reapplied or avoided entirely.

2. Does a discourse appear to suddenly have shifted conceptual ground? - Tautological fallacies are often difficult to detect. Subtle shifts in trajectories are often only received

by the consumer as feelings of skeptical uncertainty. These perceptions can be likened in geophysical terms to the sensations experienced by an individual following minute earth tremors. In suspected cases of distortion, discourses must be traced back to the significant point of equivocation.

B. DISCOURSE AS A SYSTEM OF COHERENCY

The notion of coherency here is premised on Foucault's idea that discourse forms exhibit a particular logic structure or coherency which promotes the conveyance of meaning. Coherency, however, is underwritten by the dynamics of social organization and is, therefore, specific to particular socio-cultural parameters. Discourse thus structures meaning in repertoires explicit to categorical "world views". This can render a discourse intelligible, providing that an individual possesses the needed "interpretive repertoire" to establish "coherency" (Parker, 1992). Coherency, therefore, is a manufactured product. To achieve coherency a specific readership is required, one which possesses the necessary interpretive repertoire. Coherency for some can then mean incoherency for others, resulting in a discourse of exclusion.

1. How does a discourse construct a world view? - Every discourse ties into a specific mapped picture of the world. By establishing a cursory model of that world an analyst can chart coherency. This model can also prove beneficial in underlining the intended readership of the discourse while highlighting the coalescence of power and ideology along inclusive lines.

2. What specific discourses contribute to the coherency of the text? - One can determine how coherency is established by reviewing and deconstructing specific contributing discourses. Included here are visual images, italicized print, summaries, review questions, sentence phrases and vocabulary.

APPLYING THE METHODOLOGY

The above methodology is designed to disclose meaning in discourse forms. The advantages of this system over content analysis, should be immediately recognizable. The methodology revealed above examines discourse at the extra-discursive as well as discursive levels. However, unlike other qualitative methodologies the above system offers a structure unavailable in straight narrative procedures.

The following analysis applies this methodology in two distinct yet complementary ways. Firstly, all text received an ongoing review allowing for complete syntagmatic development to occur. This avenue was pursued so as not to distort context in significant ways. Secondly, a chapter end analysis was conducted applying the same analytical criteria but treating the complete chapter as a single unit.

For the purpose of development the data was then arranged around particular themes, established upon completion of the review process. The thematic arrangement expanded upon in the following chapters, therefore, references the review data of all five basic texts. The advantages of presenting the data around thematic definitions are significant.

Firstly, because the data is not compiled around an artificial nomenclature the data can be presented outside of predetermined temporal or spatial barriers, ie. historical, sociological, political. Parameters established within the context of the text or preconceived by the analyst are always reductive and can typify abusive inequities in power as manifested through discourse. Secondly, by accessing generalizable themes or discourses the curriculum can be treated holistically disclosing discourse forms which transcend the discursive limitations of one book or chapter.

Thirdly, central to the mandate of this review is the exposition and articulation of oppressive hierarchical power relationships as transmitted through discourse. As stated earlier, understanding meaning in text is concomitant with comprehending inequities in power as disclosed through discourse, as discourse is both created out of and recreates meaning in a society. It is, therefore, vital to the task that inequitable power structures are viewed in their historical context and not as particularized occurrences or events. Systemic discrimination cannot be relegated to a particular epoch and poverty is not merely a product or peculiarity of a "third world". It is thus imperative that discourse forms are not delimited in synthetic ways which alter context.

While the above methodology was drawn from as a process by which text could be decoded, it is not employed quantitatively. The chapters are, therefore, not broken down into these specialized categories as discourse appears in a narrative form. Again, this methodology was not developed to be used as a structure, but simply to provide structure.

CHAPTER 3 - CITIZENSHIP

OUR WORLD AND OUR PLACE IN IT

Through his work with the Giaya hypothesis Lovelock reviews the concept of the "scientific paradigm", a definable accumulation of perspectives and beliefs through which potential realities are rendered intelligible. For Lovelock, discourses are arranged around these paradigms in ways which give a discourse or property coherency. However, for Lovelock, a paradigm is also delimiting, both in terms of the breadth of its reliability and its ability to propagate truth claims. For a paradigm will remain bound within specific parameters. These parameters may be viewed as rules and are established and compiled of the premises, perspectives, and beliefs which lend them validity. Thus truth claims expressing a particular legitimacy from within a paradigm can appear contradictory and inaccurate when viewed from without. For Lovelock many of the contradictions and limitations of modern scientific theory only became apparent succeeding that symbolic moment when the earth was first glimpsed and photographed from an orbiting probe, forever altering our understanding to its symbiotic nature (Lovelock, 1995). Scientific paradigms are, thus sensitive to perspective changes which expose the artificial barriers constructed around particularized points of view. But paradigms are also resistant to change and will coopt and/or absorb contradictions to varying degrees. Importantly, scientific paradigms rearrange the past, historically recontextualizing former properties and understandings ideologically in a process of evaluation which works backwards.

In The Structure of Scientific Revolutions Kuhn examines the role of the scientific paradigm in advancing the cause of its practitioners, or the men and women who work and learn within that paradigm. For Kuhn, the scientific paradigm, rewrites its own parameters, "disguising" each preceding paradigm form within this coded realm. Kuhn claims that the science text, an instrument by which paradigms are promoted and reinforced, is created within the constructed realm of the new or "revolutionary" paradigm, a gestalt, manufacturing truth forms congruent with specific historical ways of approaching and interpreting the world. Illusion occurs as a text makes scientific discovery and transcription out to be a cumulative historical process. The closer reality is a constantly shifting playing field of interpretation and review, where the discoveries of the past and the ideals of the future align concomitant with the views of the present:

> Textbooks, being pedagogical vehicles for the perpetuation of normal science, have to be rewritten in whole or in part whenever the language, problem-structure, or standards of normal science change. In short they have to be rewritten in the aftermath of each scientific revolution, and, once rewritten, they inevitably disguise not only the role but the very existence of the revolutions that produced them (Kuhn, 1970: 137).

As ideologically confining instruments, paradigms, both those of the nature labeled "scientific" and otherwise, although it should be difficult to differentiate paradigmatic boundaries as such when systems of recognition filter through and imprint cultural symbolic meaning without inclination, produce circumscribed realities to which reciprocal knowledge forms, sources of discovery and interpersonal dimensions are assigned. The social sciences display no immunity here. The configuration of seemingly differentiated discourses around these generalizable interpretations of a world and reality environment profoundly affect meaning. As Kuhn claims, "there can be no scientifically or empirically neutral system of language or concept(s)" (Kuhn, 1970, 146).

In each of the five basic texts selected for this project knowledge claims are generated and elaborated upon, with the understanding that those claims, at least in part, will be adopted by a student readership. It is the stated purpose of this analysis to ascertain, through a process of deconstruction, what these claims are. As stated, texts which reduce, exclude or over code, produce symbolic images of the world which can in turn deny and oppress. But it is also the responsibility of this text to underline or pattern any consistencies in discourse forms, particularly as specific and individualized discourses begin to adhere to paradigmatic images. By assembling these paradigms or metanarratives, alternative discourses may be explored which can significantly question the validity of truth claims made within the texts.

The methodology reviewed in Chapter 2 will prove instrumental in this regard. The arrangement of the subject themes are important as subject headings because they are important components of textual expression. This chapter examines the first of these themes, "Citizenship".

Of the information reviewed in all five of the basic textbooks a strong connotative and denotative mandate is discharged regarding the nature of human identity, and more specifically, how that identity complements desirable forms of social organization. Constantly defined and redefined are questions, often untenured, which probe into the nature of societal behavior and change. Significantly, solutions to these questions are also forthcoming, albeit, often indirectly. The nature of citizenship is at issue in all of these texts.

To better explore the multiplicity of discourse directed towards the citizenship ideal type three specific components are reviewed independently, viz. Difference, Identity, and Identity and Change. The exploration of difference is a necessary technique in the construction of citizenship types.

DIFFERENCE

Difference is used throughout the curricula and formulates an integral process in the construction of citizenship. A text need not address the issue of what an ideal citizen type is. It may instead articulate what it is not. There are advantages to this technique. Discourses may be used which circumvent the discursive text. These discourses are not historically bound to other discourses, nor are they perceptible through quantitative methods of review. Most importantly, however, discourses which enunciate identity through difference can exist, surreptitiously anchored in other discourses, often undetected by author, publisher, or teacher.

Difference manifested in the prescribed grade twelve curriculum, as it affects social and individual identity, is symbolically charged in the polarization of East and West, frequently further reduced to the ideological, or overcoded benchmarks of Capitalism and

Communism. Repeatedly, in all of the textbooks, the ideal of an exotic, encumbered, and misguided East is used to circumscribe the normality of a West. Communism stands as the most often discussed example of this misdirection.

COMMUNISM:

To initiate difference the texts consistently utilize binary or polarized models through which discourses are organized. These models tend to be ahistorical in their approach and extremely generalizable. Furthermore, they are often self contradictory. In the textbooks A Changing World and Challenges of Citizenship (Citizenship), students are introduced to opposing concepts of Communism and Capitalism. However, Communism is then frequently used interchangeably for the term Dictatorship. Capitalism is inferentially acknowledged as democratic. Further division then occurs between the concepts of Government and Society (Couture et al. 1991).

In Global Forces of the Twentieth Century, Communism and the Soviet Union are synonymously referenced, ignoring qualities and characteristics which have more in common with a large state's position in the world political and economic scene than a collectivist ideology (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 200). Ignored are particular ideological qualities which can be associated with Communism, ie. egalitarianism, and democratic participation. Instead Communism is superimposed on specific historical events, political alliances and the idiosyncratic behavior of individuals. Important to the conveyance of difference here is an alignment which amalgamates the alien characteristics inherent in both of the concepts Communism and East.

Equally assessable in any text reviewed is a Communism which is connected with particularized qualities of difference. However, significant organization materializes around four distinguishable areas, Big Government, Aggression and Oppression, Immorality and Failure.

For these texts, big Government is inefficient and delimiting. A citizen of the world is not an individual who embraces these fetters. In Global Forces of the Twentieth Century, China's bureaucracy is continually criticized, often utilizing the mechanisms available through irony, ie. sarcasm. Interestingly, for sarcasm or irony in any form to function intelligibly in discourse a shared meaning system is assumed. In this situation meaning is grounded in a discourse which maligns bureaucracy, or at least the coding of such, as inefficient and corrupt.

In A Changing World, discourses airing the inefficiencies of big government are accompanied by discourses celebrating the economic changes affecting Eastern Europe. Gorbachev is said to have "modernized" the marketplace. Accompanying this claim is the image of a newly opened McDonald's outlet, complete with a young smiling staff member (Couture, et al.1991: 140). The accompanying caption, however, does not mention that the youth might well be underpaid, the food overpriced and nutritionally deficient, and the packaging environmentally destructive. On a latter page the youthful smile is exchanged for the more stoic demeanor of a group of shoppers queuing at a Soviet government store. Here the image places the viewer in the distance, contributing to the somber spectacle (Couture, et al. 1991: 143). The object of the discourse, difference, is connotative and extra-discursively applied, primarily by altering the physical and emotional perspectives between images.

In an earlier comment in the same text the Soviet Union is said to have listened to the demands of the consumer. "People were now able to sell goods at a profit and had more personal freedom to operate businesses" (Couture, et al. 1991: 69). No mention here is made of actual historical forces which lead to structural change within the Soviet Union. There is no mention of the significant international political and economic forces which prompted structural adjustment, ie. the pressures applied by the corporate West to change. Furthermore, it can hardly be determined the dream of the consumer to encourage profit taking, an act in opposition to his/her best interests. The amalgamation of two very distinct discourses lead the reader to assume that profit taking and choice are mutually desirable and reinforcing.

In the same text, private taxi cabs are said to be possessed by the "lucky people who own a car", if they wish to meet requirements and "moonlight". The claim is that private cabbies compete against state cabbies with the extra liabilities of paying insurance premiums, gasoline costs and repairs. These individuals are described as "active private entrepreneurs" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 200). Again the object of the discourse focuses on entrepreneurial spirit, private ownership and the cloistering effect of big government. Not explored are discourses which may underline the advantages of being offered a daytime job, or even state funded transportation. Alternative perspectives are effectively squelched, an object reinforcing difference as hierarchical and value laden.

In Global Forces of the Twentieth Century the question is asked, "what characteristics of communist ideology make it intolerable to other political parties and business people" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 96)? Present here again is a pro-business perspective but the discourse also confuses communist ideology with the Soviet administration of such. No mention here is made of the Leninist "vanguard" or its conceptual variation from the more orthodox Marxist doctrine. The empirical world of the Soviet Union is tautologically used or exchanged for an ideological concept, viz. communism. Discourses generated under and around the Marxist and Leninist schools are qualitatively different in many significant ways, schools which the former Soviet administrations often emulated but experienced difficulty in practice (see Brewer, 1990, or Larrain, 1992).

Commonplace in all of the texts is a discourse which promotes the advantages of the market system over the big government associations of Communism. The most commonly used example is the Soviet Union. By devaluing the experience of the various Soviet Administrations no defense need be offered for alternative systems. Ironically these dichotomies are made in contradiction to other discourses. No mention is made of power as a necessary product of large public administrations, like the Soviet Union and The United States. All of the texts ignore the commonalties which exist between the United States and the Soviet Union. These commonalties are extremely relevant to understanding either state, as historical entities displaying superpower status. By associating inefficiency and abuses of power with difference a texts avoids having to explain it at home.

Communist aggression receives substantial attention within the five textbooks. Here the communist societies are seen as expansionary, bellicose and unstable. Consider the following quotations incorporating value laden text to reaffirm the object. "Russian armies poured like a flood over Eastern Europe" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 54), or the public went wild with delight, revenge crazed mobs roamed the streets, looting, stealing and killing (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 197). Communist administrations and populations are constantly portrayed in aggressive situations, a substantive difference to the more peace loving defensive, albeit sometimes "interventionist", West. The Cold War serves as an example of this. Seldom is the geopolitical turmoil which resulted from it seen as the wake of two competing superpowers pitted against each other in a battle over global resources. Escalation of the cold war is most often tied to the belligerent actions of the Soviet Union. The West is entrusted with the role of defender, mediator and sometimes, police officer. Consider the following excerpts. "Intense diplomatic pressure from both the British and Americans resulted in the Soviet withdrawal from the area..." (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 179), or "from this time forward American foreign policy would be shaped by a desire to maintain a buffer zone of friendly governments on the Soviet periphery in order to contain communism within Soviet borders" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 163). The readership is denoted here by the term "friendly", the object is maintained. Entire discourse systems are unmasked in legitimation of Western "interventionism".

In Global Forces of the Twentieth Century the United States is said to have "recognized that an economically devastated Western Europe was ill-equipped to resist

Soviet forces" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 165), thus, by "1955 the Western military alliance stood as a bulwark against Soviet expansion" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 175). NATO is viewed strictly as a defense mechanism, and the Western nuclear arsenal, a deterrent. To reveal the "other" here would be to accept the West's direct involvement in the escalation of the hostilities undermining the entire discourse establishing difference. In justification for NATO's inception A History of the Twentieth Century argues that, "President Truman knew that more than tanks and guns were needed to stop the spread of communism" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 41).

With the "spread" of Communism to China, the Chinese joined the Soviet Union as harbingers of aggression and instability. In Global Forces of the Twentieth Century, China's bid for self determination and equitable land reform is rejected as, "it appeared China was indeed embarking on its own brand of imperialism" resulting in "Mao's policy of promoting instability among its neighbours" causing "other nations to join together to contain China within its borders" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 239). China's arduous struggle as a "transition state" to escape the fetters of imperialism, resulting in more equitable resource allocation, ie. land, education, is ignored (see Carnoy and Samoff, 1990). A History of the Twentieth Century claims that "after months of hard fighting the Americans pushed them (Chinese) back across the 38th parallel (O'Callaghan, 1987: 205), in reference to the Korean war. The war here is seen as a collaborative action by concerned nations intent on curtailing the growth of communism. There is nothing written about the intersecting spheres of interest between nation states, or documenting United States economic, political and military aggression on a front half way around the world. Instead the military action is said to have been expensive, as over 33,000 Americans died with over 100,000 (Americans) injured (O'Callaghan, 1987: 205). Evidently, little value is placed upon the carnage, death, and displacement that the Koreans had to endure. All of the texts use descriptors like, "containment" or "push back". One text acknowledges that the United States gets a little "brinkmanish" from time to time (O'Callaghan, 1987: 207), but there is no further qualification. The American lead force is engaging communism, but the Chinese are said to be pitted against the United Nations. The incomensurability here seems intentional.

In Ideologies, the historical development of the modern Chinese state is contained within a chapter titled Authoritarian States. No significant text is dedicated to the people of China, enduring one autocratic administration after another for millennia. Very little is written disclosing external intervention, particularly from the West. No effort is made to understand what these particular developments hold, in terms of meaning to the Chinese citizen. There is no acknowledgment of the many successes that post World War II China has enjoyed.

Intervention by communist administrations on other frontiers is well documented in the texts. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is said to have "transformed the country into a human wasteland, as out of 22,000 villages an estimated 15,000 were destroyed and 5000 made uninhabitable" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 263). Interestingly, in similar sections focusing on the Vietnam invasion by the United States (labeled the Vietnam War in all instances), the text chooses to ignore the unmeasurable damage sustained throughout the course of the military action focused on Vietnam and the two adjoining states of Cambodia and Laos (see Chomsky, 1979, Herman and Chomsky, 1988).

In Iraq the Soviet Union is said to have" remained a major arms supplier and economic partner" throughout the Iraq-Iran war (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 214). However, in the same text Iraq is censured for its part in owing "40 billion to Western Europe alone for arms, not counting money owed to the rich Gulf creditors" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 210). The contradictory alignment of discourses here cannot be understated, the oppressive role of the UN is silently circumvented, the text can only achieve verisimilitude from the point of view of the assigned readership, that of difference.

In Cuba the initial coup is viewed as a generally benign activity in the textbook Ideologies, as it was believed by the Americans that the new dictator would impose law and order after so many years of chaos. Castro himself is praised for his "ingenuity". It is not until later when Castro reveals his communist associations that his persona adopts a more ominous decorum. Che Guevara, however, receives a less than sterling review as a committed Marxist and trouble maker. In Mexico, Castro is said to have met up with Guevara, "who had fought against the Guatemalan and Argentinean dictators and was now searching for another war of liberation (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 201). A great deal of the discussion, in this text, infers "Third World" instability and communist opportunism, but the entire question of imperialist exploitation and manipulation by First World "monopoly capitalism" is circumvented (Larrain, 1989). The text, however, admits that the United States could have driven "Castro into Soviet arms" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 203).

The Cuban Missile Crisis, Global Forces of the Twentieth Century claims, was "in part precipitated by the Soviet attempt to overcome inferiority in missile deployment" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 191). Interestingly, in almost all of the texts the crisis is associated with the decision by Kruchev to deploy the arsenal, as is evidenced in the excerpt from the following question, a deliberate act of exclusion through binary referencing. "Imagine that you are Kennedy faced with the Cuban missile crisis sixteen months after this meeting (Kruchev/Kennedy)" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 214). Kennedy's role in the initiation and escalation of the crisis is only an aside here. Nothing is mentioned concerning NATO's "short range" missile deployments along the Eastern European frontier. Again communism is seen as the sole aggressor.

The communists, however, are not only aggressors. They also convey an immorality, symbolically attested by the denial of a supreme spiritual force. Dubcek is said to have attempted to promote "socialism with a human face" (binary opposition), eventually leading to his downfall (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 187). "Despite his Marxist views, Mugabe is generally viewed as having been cautious and pragmatic in his approach to power", again a discourse suggesting that this is unusual for a communist (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 275). In binary fashion, the text reinforces Western Capitalism/Democracy as a moral system without ever discursively stating it. In A Changing World the Ceausescus are criticized for their cruelty and avariciousness, yet no mention is made regarding their status in the West (Couture, et al. 1991: 70). The knowledge that this administration literally tortured many of its citizenry did little to deter the friendly overtures of the Western nations seeking political and economic gain. Chomsky states that Ceausescu was treated as a "great man" by the United States and England, with the United States offering him "favoured nation" status and trade advantages. Chomsky elaborates, claiming that Ceausescu "was just as brutal and crazed then (1980) as he was in the next decade, but the point is that he was partially on our side in the international struggle" (Chomsky, 1992: 157). The "other" remains conspicuously silent.

In Global Forces of the Twentieth Century the Soviets are said to have acted immorally advantaging themselves through British/American currency guarantees. The Soviets are described as opportunists who were subsidized by the British and American sectors. Western opportunism however is qualified through comments like, "if you can't beat 'em join 'em (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 167), or, "the Soviet Reichsmark gambit (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 168).

The failure of Communism can be equated to the failure of many things, both evil and unproductive. Some are reviewed above. Others are as easily distinguishable. Individual lifestyles are said to have suffered dramatically under various communist style administrations. In A Changing World the text associates Soviet domestic lifestyles with apartment living, while denoting that Canadians live in houses. The question is then asked, "do you think living in an apartment rather than a single-family dwelling changes the way a person thinks about home" (Couture, et al. 1991: 133)? The entire discourse pursued in this text is elitist, class biased and Western in its ideological associations (coding). Here the text not only elucidates difference as a product of Soviet lifestyles but all lifestyles that to not align with a narrow North American middle class understanding of the world. The text also effectively disenfranchises students who, due to disparities in resource allocation, or for other reasons, do not reside in "single-family dwellings". Context here is circumvented. The possibility that individual extravagance and the hoarding of resources may have been deterred in the Soviet Union is not discussed. The ethics surrounding "conspicuous consumption" are also never addressed, giving way to a discourse which permeates all of the texts. Philosophical and ideological assumptions underwrite the text here. Greater consumption is not only desirable, but it is rational and ethical.

In explaining particular agricultural failures during the history of the Soviet Union all of the texts painstakingly contour overly deterministic models, empirically conveying the abuses of power, government inefficiency and peasant backwardness. In A History of the Twentieth Century early Soviet agricultural failure is contributed to peasant "backwardness" and "unsavoriness" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 60). The extra-discursive discourse posits that these poor are responsible for their own misery. Nothing, in the way of an explanation, is offered which could connect the peasant's plight to generations of corrupt autocratic rule. The reader is never told what a "backward" or "unsavory person" is. The "readership" of this text predetermines that the discourse will be clearly understood. The text moves on to transfer the blame for "agricultural failure" from the peasant to the Bolsheviks who imposed an "inefficient" collectivist system "cruelly".

Missed is an excellent opportunity for the installment of a discourse linking the early twentieth century Soviet peasant with the majority of the world's rural agricultural people. Both of these groups are pitted against exploitive economic and political forces which dominate lives. Instead one is told of the backwardness of Russia, as "only one in four had schooling" and "four out of five were poor farmers".

"Ad Hominem" arguments are also used against the working class. The testimony of a Russian factory inspector is quoted describing how he was overrun with "workers, all in greasy, soot covered rags covered with a thick layer of grime and dust", swarming "like bees in dirty over crowded quarters" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 60). Rasputin himself is said to be a "ignorant, dirty drunkard" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 65). Certainly the text capitalizes on particularized Western discourses and connotations associated with the words "dirty", "backward", or "ignorant". By layering extra-discursive meaning onto a discursive counterpart the text achieves a cohesion which speaks to a selective reader.

In the same text, the reader is asked to review a picture imaging a down looking peasant superimposed on a sparse background. The caption asks the student to "show the peasant's poverty and then relate why they were not good farmers" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 62). Again the adversities of agriculture are dumped on a society which, ironically, had successfully farmed for centuries, when left to do so. Interestingly, in A Changing World, the prosperity of the North American agriculturist is tied in to factors which are not so easily controlled. Here this text claims that "weather and farm profits go hand in hand" (Couture, et al. 1991: 136).

The textbook Ideologies reproduces a published article from Time magazine, quoting professional people from various ethnic enclaves within the Soviet Union. All of the reports are critical of Soviet government control charging the administration with allegations of corruption and manipulation (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 14). Again nothing is offered in support of the Soviet system, nothing which links abuses of power with social economic class, ethnicity, or even gender. Is an ideology capable of all of this? Apparently, as abuses inherent to specific Capitalist administrations are acquiesced in this example of editorial power.

AN ALIEN WORLD:

As an individual or society wanes from the ideals of a world citizenry, their representation in a text shadows the vacillation. Thus, as one follows a discourse through such a transition particular rules of citizenry become evident. The Soviet Union, which as a Western ally is sympathized with for absorbing dramatic human loss of life during the Second World War, is later indicted for its fanaticism following the war and eventually loathed as a cruel and soulless regime as the Cold War unfolds. The Middle East provides another example.

In the textbook Citizenship, the region is said to possess "great diversity". But it follows, that for this reason the area is also said to be unstable. Nation states are exclaimed to harbour "unfulfilled goals" which lead to "crisis situations" and conflict. Nothing, however, is revealed, which underlines the responsibility of states external to the region, both in pursuing certain "goals" and underwriting instability. Instead, resources are said to interest Western nations, as the Middle East possesses a "huge percentage of the worlds oil supplies" (Christison, et al. 1991: 204). For this reason and the "importance of stability" the West is reported to continually intervene. Included in this category is the United States. "But the Americans had (had?) good reason for being interested in the Middle East", as 35 percent of their oil supplies originate from that region (O'Callaghan, 1987: 236). Apparently the West is justified in its intervention simply because it needs the resources.

But how can a discourse double back on itself without significantly exposing the contradiction? This technique is mastered through difference. The Middle East, with the exception of Israel, is different. In Global Forces of the Twentieth Century the concept of terrorism is introduced in the chapter on the Middle East. The terrorists are said to have "believed that the dramatic act of killing innocent people would focus world attention on their cause" as "they tried to instill a sense of guilt among well-off Westerners over their past exploitation of the oppressed people of the third world" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 215). Not only is the Middle East apparently a bastion for international terrorism, but its "radicals" are envious of Western wealth and spiteful of past Western actions. This conveniently exonerates the West from any responsibility for terrorist activities, as its wealth is serendipitous at best and actions isolated in the past. Narrative and temporal neutrality separates the "readership". The Palestinian terrorists are said to be financed by "Arab governments and oil rich sheiks and supplied with Soviet weapons" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 215). It would seem that, in this text, these people truly are different.

Interestingly, Western aggression in the Middle East is never classified as terrorism despite its propensity to kill civilians with the most lethal technology available. Furthermore, these attacks are always seen as retaliatory and in general supported by a significant proportion of the "Arab" population at a specified time. Terrorism on the Achille Larro is said to have triggered an "American reaction" with the "subsequent air strikes meant as a deterrent to terrorism". Although "some Arab states were mildly critical of the American attack, others signaled tacit approval through their silence" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 216). Western aggression is both justifiable and condoned.

In the Middle East the East/West dichotomy is played out between the "Arab" world and Israel. In A History of the Twentieth Century the Arabic peoples are referred to simply as "Arabs". The definition offered is a people "speaking the same Arabic language and following the same Islamic religion" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 228). An interesting definition for the people of an area with great diversity. No reference is made to the multitude of languages used by the peoples labeled "Arab", or that many divisions exist along political, ethnic, religious and cultural lines. Why are not autonomous secular political divisions acknowledged. The discourse associated with the "Arab" is an amorphous one, unlike the practiced decorum of referencing Western nations?

In the textbook Global Forces of the Twentieth Century the Arabic institution is divided further as Shia is said to be "one of two mainstream sects of Islam, the other being Sunni". The text claims that while the "Shias appeal to the underprivileged oppressed and defeated, the Sunnis appeal to the more conservative and privileged classes" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 218). An amazing class distinction is made here which is not applied in any context, in any of the texts, to the West. Furthermore, the discourse is highly judgmental and inaccurate in terms of its associations and reductivity, ignoring the historical significance of both faiths (Matthews, 1991).

Israel is presented differently. Israel may best be described as a small enclave of the West surrounded by the East. Global Forces of the Twentieth Century claims that the United States has "found itself drawn into the Israeli camp, while the Soviet Union takes on an increasingly pro-Arab stance".

Israel is presented as a young state with old historical claims to sovereignty. This state manages to exist despite overwhelming odds and opposition by the surrounding "Arab" world, who are said to have been "ill-trained in the art of war", and in the past, "unable to unite behind their field commanders" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 202-203). At an extra-discursive level this discourse further demeans the "Arab" people themselves. As a reader words like inept or ignorance can symbolically permeate the discourse strata. The Israelis, however, are credited with knowing that "they had to fight or die" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 236). Again, the West only acts in self defense. The conditions of the Zionist settlement are not disclosed. The process of exclusion evolving here is directly related to citizenship, or identity. Chomsky articulates that this specific phenomenon of exclusion, regarding the Palestinians, is the direct result of the preference by powerful Americans for the "settlers who displaced the Palestinians" (Israelis) as, after all, " the Palestinians are not human", in the eyes of these same authoritative actors (Chomsky, 1992: 69). Said writes:

> The life of an Arab Palestinian in the West, particularly in America, is disheartening. there exists here an almost unanimous consensus that politically he does not exist, and when it is allowed that he does, it is either as a nuisance or as an Oriental (Said, 1979: 27).

In A History of the Twentieth Century a map is displayed of the Middle East region. The students are asked here to articulate why Israel should feel threatened. The premise is that Israel is surrounded by much larger aggressive "Arab" states and are thus justified in their xenophobia and periodic spells of zealous military actions. None of the textbooks attempt to accurately represent the context here. Nothing is said of Western political hegemony or attempted dominance of the region, often relying on Israel for both excuse and strategic force (see Chomsky, 1992, 1979, Armajani, 1986,). Mention is, however, made of US funding in two of the texts. "The help given by the USA" is said to have "made many Arabs look upon Israel as an American colony in disguise" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 236). But interestingly, this is an allegation concerning a past situation made by the "Arabs" themselves. This concern is not the voice of, or legitimated through, the textual authorship as a valid knowledge claim, nor is it in any way incriminating, in reference to unjust or immoral interventionist behavior.

The "Palestinian problem" develops the East/West schism further. The Palestinian refugee camps are said to be "breeding grounds of hatred" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 230), or "hotbeds of discontent" which have further "inflamed the hostile atmosphere in the Middle East" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 203). Israeli aggression against the Palestinians is referred to as "striking back", or self defense. Lebanon, in A History of the Twentieth Century, is described as a land which "hated the Palestinians as troublesome intruders", but did not have the resources to deal with the "problem" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 244). Israeli intervention in Lebanon is, again, an ethically motivated project, to impose peace (O'Callaghan, 1987: 244). Armajani describes some of these events:

> Between June and August 1982, the Israeli Defense Force shelled towns and refugee camps, and rounded up thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese into makeshift detention centers. It blew up countless homes of suspected PLO collaborators. Besieging Beirut, Sharon, the Israeli defense minister, announced his intention of crushing the PLO and proceeded to order round-the-clock saturation bombing of Beirut through August and September (Armajani, 1986: 378).

There is not a discourse, discursive or otherwise, which examines the potential legitimacy of Palestinian land claims. The text does not address the impoverishing conditions which the Palestinians have endured in the overcrowded camps. Israeli aggression is not discussed, or the state's often barbaric raids on camps of civilians using state of the art fighter aircraft. The problem is consistently a Palestinian one, not Israeli, or American. To maintain difference conflicting discourses must ultimately be hidden.

The curricula, in all of the textbooks, addresses events which both incited and sustained the Second World War. A significant literature is dedicated to this historical period, particularly in the three texts selected for the Social 30 program. Included here is a discourse reviewing the events of the Pacific War, which pitted the United States and its allies against the Japanese front. This, however, is not the Western Japan of the present era, promoted as industrious, studious, hard working and successful. This Japan is expansionist, dictatorial and belligerent, not unlike the Soviet communist or European fascist, its contemporaries. Underdeveloped here, although mentioned in some of the texts, are specific empirical factors which both precipitated and eventually terminated aggressions on the Pacific front. The inflexibility of the United States administrations towards compromise are absent. Also absent are critical discourses exposing weaknesses in the commonly accepted "raison e tre" for Allied involvement. Difference is used to distinguish the Ally's mandates and responsibilities from those of the "enemy". Superimposed on the Allied war effort is a specific coding mechanism, differentiating realities, with regard to conduct, the value of human life, and the intrinsic need for peace and stability. In Manila 100,000 civilians are said to have been killed before the Americans liberated the city (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 133). This particular tragedy is seen as regrettable but necessary. Apparently, the cost, in Filipino lives was not a significant factor as US hegemony, not unlike 1898, persevered. However, American losses are always seen as unnecessary and unwarranted. "Only 216 of the 50,000 defenders were taken alive, at a cost of 6000 American dead", or, "in every battle, the lesson learned and relearned was the high cost in lives exacted by stubborn Japanese defense" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 132).

The Japanese people are often viewed and referred to as the enemy. It would appear that this designation is the necessary first step in legitimizing aggression, a major discourse indigenous to all of the texts. The United States is justified in initiating an atomic war, albeit the only state to have ever done so. In executing this discourse all of the texts followed a common discursive path. Firstly, the Japanese would not surrender and, therefore, would be difficult to defeat by conventional means. This surprising revelation, however, is not attributed to a zealous determination to protect a homeland under attack, but a socially instilled warrior role quality, found in all Japanese citizens from birth. Global Forces of the Twentieth Century notes, interestingly, ignoring the actual significance of the statement, "if the Japanese were so fanatical about defending the outer islands, how would they behave when defending their homelands" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 132).

Secondly, and a discourse which complements the first, the American placed a higher value on human life. American casualties must, therefore, be avoided at all costs. If technology could be exchanged for soldiers, it was legitimate to do so. Thirdly, the Japanese were often inhuman in their warring techniques. Japan is claimed to have created unthinkable violent actions against the citizenry of the surrounding Asian nations. Words like "orgy" and "bloodletting" are consistently used to describe the "horrors" of the Japanese affront. There was something subhuman about these people.

By dehumanizing the Japanese citizenry, a discourse can be validated which interprets the American position as regrettable but necessary. Global Forces of the Twentieth Century carries this technique of validation one step further by circumventing a directed discourse entirely, through tautology. Initially the text asks the reader to determine whether the United States could be accused of genocide, in connection with the atomic bombings. It then proceeds to outline a discourse not unlike the one reviewed above, rationalizing the attack. However, at the completion of the chapter the question is asked again, this time in altered form, viz. "is the use of atomic weapons a form of genocide" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 128)? By exchanging an actual inquiry for a hypothetical postulate the United States ducks the unpleasantry of receiving direct condemnation. But more importantly, by exchanging, a potential example of genocide for a situation which may be addressed abstractly, rhetorical agents and cleverly selected dialectics replace the empirical horrors of the events, ie. the actions prevented tremendous loss of life by ending a war. Interestingly, the ramifications of a conditional surrender or the imminent Soviet invasion are not discussed. A caption printed under a image of an atomic test published in the same chapter states, "in order to bring the war to a quick and decisive end the Americans dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 136).

In Europe "moderation gave way to extremes of violence and atrocity", as Fascist and Dictatorial regimes established themselves throughout the continent (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 56). Again difference is enunciated in the undemocratic characteristics of specific European governments at the time. Discourse once more pits itself against evil, but not evil as the product of historical processes which sanction the darker side of human endeavor. This evil originates in ideological difference and is sustained only through specific mediums. Thus, although each text attempts to review incipient preambles to the European hostilities, connections are not made historically which underline real threats to human coexistence. The direction of these events are seen as isolated occurrences involving the combination of an egotistical, yet charismatic leadership and a misguided population. Historical neutrality is used to conceal the need for qualification. The text, Ideologies, asks if Hitler would "have been successful in a democratic country" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 68). Was that not the case? The text fails to associate the tremendous structural inequity, which existed in much of Europe at the time, with a public desired change. Lost is the opportunity to learn from the tragic events of this era. A discourse which looks to the roots of social chaos and destruction is absent. Historical developments and consequences are cloaked in ideological difference, an isolated sequence of events locked in the annals of time.

The discourse consistently masks the "other" stressing difference as the primary contributing factor in the development of the events which surrounded the period. Also neglected is the role of the West, indulging the Fascist administrations. Tacit, and in some cases, overt approval was given to draconian leaderships in the interest of economic and political expediency. The texts not only display a tendency to overlook Western complicity but, at times, sanctions it.

Citizenship claims that a dictatorship excels in providing an orderly and safe society, personal security and social stability (Christison, et al. 1991: 68). However, when reviewing context it becomes evident that this is not the dictatorship of difference, but the benevolent dictatorship sanctioned by the West. Ideologies claims that the type of strong leadership associated with a dictatorship can be an effective means of social organization, particularly in some African nations like Kenya where democratic connections are weak (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 281). This qualification apparently also applies to other dictatorial administrations friendly to the West. Interestingly, the "object" of these texts is not significantly critical of specific forms of social organization, per se, but rather specific structures which articulate symbolic differences in citizenship.

The Japanese, Italians and Germans of this period are not civil, "they glorify war" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 27). In this context, "totalitarian" states "stamp out rival views and look upon human beings as of no importance except as servants of the state" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 27).

When totalitarian states wage war they are unmerciful automatons in their thoroughness. Western democracies, however, bomb to end hostilities or "soften up resistance", with "incendiary raids". A discourse revealing the carnage imposed by extensive Allied bombing of civilians during W.W.II is not included, ie. the fire bombing of Dresden. However, Axis atrocities are. The German air force set out to "kill" and "terrorize" the British as "strategists believed that bombing would directly affect civilian morale and destroy their will to resist" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 123). The text claims that the bombing only "hardened the British resolve to fight until the end" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 109). The tone here is fraternal. In a consolidation of readership the veil of the "other" is thinly concealed, inferring meaning at extra-discursive levels of cohesion. There was no softening up "these" people.

The immorality of the U boat is another discourse which permeates all of the sources. These vessels were said to be unethical as they destroyed helpless crews unaware of their presence. Technologies of destruction, which brought a quick end to the war for the Allies, are seen here as obscene and irresponsible.

East/West distinctions wane, however, when instability and ideology adopts a southern face. The South maintains many of the differences of the East, ie. instability, but possesses the added dimension of haplessness. Ideologies makes the claim that "aspects of totalitarianism exists in a number of countries especially the Third World" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 164). Immediately it becomes apparent that this place is exceptional. Because of its vulnerability and instability the South is viewed as a repository of ideology and difference. Ideologies offers the caveat that a "study of African countries ... should pay attention to tribal alliances that hold them (countries) together or threaten to split them apart" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 280). Interestingly, in the South, discourse not only hinges on ethnic, cultural, or political distinctions, but "tribal" difference. The connotation here is significant. Two of the texts actually introduce race as an element of identity, labeling indigenous Africans "Black" and European Africans "White" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 281). This is neither a constructive or accurate distinction and carries difference to its binary extreme.

Superpower intervention, in the South is, for the most part, ignored by all of the texts. Instability and indigency are homegrown, not imported. In India the passing of the leadership torch from Britain to the Indian people is seen as both a benevolent act and necessary, despite the volatility of the Indian people. A History of the Twentieth Century calls the transition a "blood bath" where "Hindus and Sikhs slaughtered Muslims and

Muslims slaughtered Hindus and Sikhs" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 300). But the British are said to have tried to prepare India for self rule by giving its people honest government, building dams and irrigation canals to help farmers, building railroads and roads, and opening schools and colleges" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 294). The entire context of the colonial relationship which existed between the British and the Indian people is whitewashed here. The Southern identity is developed as crude and primitive. Ignored is the affect that external intervention and plundering can have on the stability and order of a society, as infrastructures are destroyed, alliances broken and political demarcations changed. Rodney, in How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, states that:

> To facilitate colonialism, the imperialists deliberately hampered economic and cultural progress in the colonies, preserved and restored obsolete forms of social relations, and fomented discord between nationalities (Rodney, 1976: 287).

While the postcolonial methods may vary between these two continents, the experiences are similar (see Said, 1983, Thomas, 1984, Hancock, 1989, George, 1994). Constructive change is pending, however, for these indigent societies. Exercising "narrative neutrality", while promoting some form of a "modernization" theory (see Larrain, 1989), Ideologies claims that, in the South, "country after country has cast off dictatorships in favour of multiparty systems and free elections" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 280). Latin America is said to have finally "rid itself of generals and military juntas in favour of democratic governments", as Cuba is the "only country remaining defiantly Communist, retaining a non-compromising one party state system". The text continues along the same discursive line stating that in "Black Africa the trend against Marxist one-party states and in favour of multiparty democratic states has became popular" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 280). One could truly believe that these peoples are "developing" when subscribing to this discourse, acknowledging that much work is left to be done. The role of monopoly capitalism in Southern underdevelopment is absent. Geopolitical posturing is ignored. Only one text, A History of the Twentieth Century, implicates American coercion and control, although remaining cautiously selective. The Southern identity, thus remains intact.

Southern societies are also hit with the stigma of patriarchy, as:

> "the situation in the developing countries is different. Here, the only opportunities for women outside of the areas of child and house care involve low paying jobs. Women have less power, money and autonomy and are burdened with more responsibility than men. They not only work outside the home but are also responsible for nearly all household chores (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 140).

By noting that the situation "here" is different this text implicates several things. Firstly, this particular social configuration does not take place in the "developed" world. Secondly, that this situation is an inherent one in all, so called, developing countries. Thirdly, that these nations are in some way developmentally inferior. The above discourse endeavors to conceal patriarchy in its most malevolent forms, choosing to associate it with distinguishable cultural traits, those which are different. It masks other more sophisticated discourses, historically tied to specific situations and does not recognize the influences of colonial induced cosmologies, ie. Catholicism. Many feminist discourses have elaborated on the abilities of some Southern societies in exhibiting a more equitable division of labour across gender associations than in the

West. By confining patriarchy to qualities of difference, the text myopically circumvents a dialogue which could only elucidate abuses of power, adversely affecting both men and women.

Conversely, Canadian women are represented as "developed". These women are said to have used "peaceful means to help them attain the vote" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 141), reinforcing the themes of stability and institutional change. Such a dichotomy is damaging to powerless women in both spheres who can not rely on the unmentioned advantages of class and privilege.

The most commonly understood definition of difference, as it affects identity, is that those who are different are not so in substantively justifiable ways. Difference is the result of ignorance, oppression, egotism or even bad luck, but it cannot be legitimated, for fear of exposing the "other", ie. discourses which underwrite bias, prejudice and/or political intent on the part of the authorship. The projected understanding of propaganda articulates this irony. Propaganda, a means by which difference is imposed or perpetuated, is not recognized as such, but rather is seen to grow out of difference.

In Global Forces of the Twentieth Century Hitler is said to have disseminated "anti-Communist propaganda propaganda" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 56). Tokyo Rose is also famous for her broadcasts of propaganda (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 103), and one cannot forget the means by which Communists managed information, viz. Pol Pot, Stalin, or Castro. But propaganda is not a legitimizing mechanism of "citizenship", or its product. The contradiction is obvious where the discourse bends back upon itself.

In A History of the Twentieth Century Hitler is quoted, claiming that the chief purpose of propaganda is to "convince the masses, whose understanding needs to be given time to absorb information" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 25). Another quotation used in the same chapter cites Hitler, as saying "only constant repetition will finally succeed in imprinting an idea on the memory of the crowd". The question is later asked, "can you see any connections between the extracts from Mein Kampf and the picture and description of the rally" (provided above is a picture of a vociferous Hitler standing in front of a huge swastika) (O'Callaghan, 1987: 25). Interestingly, if Hitler's criteria for propaganda is used, viz. the dissemination of repetitious information, then the reader of this text displays no immunity. For an important quality of propaganda, which Hitler neglects to mention, within the context of this chapter, is that propaganda, to be interpreted as propaganda, sows the seeds of difference.

IDENTITY

If difference envelopes what a "citizen" is not, identity inclusively demarcates the parameters of sameness, or makes claim to what a citizen is. Identity encompasses, in binary fashion, all that is not different, but the structuring of identity is also a discursive process. Texts emphasize specific values and behaviors normatively enticing the reader to accept these distinctions as demonstrative. Here there seems no term more abused and manipulated than democracy.

DEMOCRACY:

Concomitant with the image of democracy, as conveyed in these texts, is the ideals of freedom. For the text Citizenship, "democracy encourages free and active participation on the part of citizens" (Christison, et al. 1991: 43). Volunteerism is essential here as opposition groups and public opinion are said to directly influence the leadership decision. However no mention is made of the media's potential to "manufacture consent" (see Herman and Chomsky, 1988), the powerful lobby of the corporation, or relative autonomy of representational democratic governments to make decisions.

Interestingly, one can sanction a democracy which is too democratic. Global Forces of the Twentieth Century asks the questions, "should marginal parties be permitted to take part in government," and, "how does a multiplicity of parties affect the democratic process" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 44)? Ironically, the text uses the example of Nazi Germany as an intended caveat against the over extension of the democratic process. A discourse on the "tyranny of the majority" and its potential relationship to the disclosed example, however, is absent. Citizenship reinforces this sentiment, claiming that the excesses of the "Weimar coalition government are to be avoided in the interest of strong leadership" (Christison, et al. 1991: 190). Did not strong leadership evolve out of the Weimar system? The resulting Nazi state can hardly be attributed to over democratization. As discussed in more detail above, many of Germany's difficulties were structurally induced from origins beyond its boundaries. Apparently democratic leadership is only to be entrusted to institutionally recognized parties reinforcing the mandates of the status quo.

The textbook Citizenship maintains repeatedly that democracy provides individuals with free choice. But in the seemingly contradictory discourse which follows, the text credits a dictatorship with certain advantages, goals which can "include the development of new technologies, a strong military, full employment and free education and health care" (Christison, et al. 1991: 64). Firstly, is the student to understand that free choice is only specific to political spheres? What of economic freedom or the freedoms promoted through good health, or education? Secondly, is a reader expected to infer, that in pursuing the majority rule of a democracy, that the potential exists to deem amenities such as health care and education nonessential? The apparent collision of discourses results in ambiguity. Equivocation occurs as the term freedom shifts conceptual ground. The freedom extended the individual through the will of the majority is not the freedom of personal artifice. In Canada, majority groups frequently bond together to withhold the freedoms of their minority counterparts. The repeated attempts by Prairie Grain Farmers to curb land purchasing privileges to Hutterite groups provides one example. This section is contradictory and needs dramatic qualification.

The simplified models of democracy as promoted by these texts are ideological and empirically unrealistic. Yet these models are consistently linked to nation states like Canada, and a specific conceptual method of economic organization, viz. capitalism.

There is no mention of Canada's First Nation's people here. Democratic societies are credited with great advances in the 20th century, superseding other societies with less benign forms of social organization. The "advances" made by the West are ideologically tied to Democracy/Capitalism without any explanation as to exactly how these societies amassed such good fortune. The South, seen as both victim and villain, given their apparent history of dictatorial administration, is said to be progressing towards a more democratic system, as their societies become more Westernized and politically sophisticated. No mention is made of intervention by monopoly capitalism, the IMF, or the West in general. In Ideologies, Costa Rica, an exception, stands as an example of the ideal liberal democracy. The text claims that with the exception of "paying for its welfare system" the nation is said to be fashioned after Western ideals in every regard, down to the tie clip" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 269).

A successful state like Kerala, an egalitarian example of a Communist-democracy evolving within an adversarial Indian capitalist system, is not discussed. Not one discourse connects democracy with communism. Equally objectionable, not a single discourse ties democracy, historically, to abuses of power and deprivation, developing from within the system. The connotative associations created by these oversights code meaning in specific ideological configurations, truncating a more sophisticated analysis of understanding.

CONFORMITY:

Conformity plays a central role in establishing identity. Considering the role of difference in establishing social identity this is not surprising. Discourses constantly reinforce the need to contour the citizen to the society. Transcendentally signified interpretations, like "structural functionalism", attaches the individual to the society in organic models of social organization. Citizenship makes the claim that despite our impressions of thinking and acting on our own the "fact is that we are part of a big community" (Christison, et al. 1991: 3). In this text diagrams are used to establish models which associate the individual to progressively larger concentric circles of society. Responsible citizenship is said to "include membership in political groups, financial obligations, or even military service" (Christison, et al. 1991: 181). Apparently "responsible citizenship" differs from global citizenship.

The juxtapositioning of discourses in this text form a cohesion which further discloses the need for sameness. Immediately following a case study on the Nazi experience a check list is published, apparently intended to evaluate a reader's sense of self worth as a responsible citizen (Christison, et al. 1991: 190). In another example, housed within the same text, a reader is confronted with the images of three villains, Hitler, Stalin and Khomeini. The reader is then asked to consider the role of symbols in disseminating organs of power within a society, ie. flags, national anthems (Christison, et al. 1991: 160). The discourse discursively warns against the insidious affects of symbols. In contradictory fashion, symbols are constantly used, throughout the text, to promote conformity. The contradiction is anchored in the extra-discursive "other", not semiology. The distinction is a qualitative one specific to symbols of kind. Closure is achieved with a discourse on propaganda.

PATRIOTISM:

The "citizen", as a discourse, is a patriot in that things familiar are accepted and normalized, if not glorified. Central to the identity of a "citizen" is the Christian tradition, premising a world view which is distinct and elaborate, with regard to customs, morality and conventions. Christianity provides the myths, and canons of interpretation which cycle and recycle reality views into contextual plots common to all. These discourses are often then secularized in ways which can mask their presence. Christian discourses serve as an underwriting pretense in all of the reviewed texts, moral posturing within this context.

In Citizenship the discourse surfaces discursively as the text acknowledges that the "ideology of our society is based largely on the Christian religion". The text continues by noting that "this religion says that killing is wrong" (Christison, et al. 1991: 40). A citizen of this society then is guided by Christian principles, particularly as they pertain to killing. Acknowledged, extra-discursively, is that others do kill, while those who do not exact such an evil are, by example, good. The text, however does not attempt to clarify the contradictions which materialize when a citizen kills in the name of the state.

While the majority of the texts may not directly associate Christianity with morality, a normative lexicon is sustained through this particular belief system. Words such as honour, justice, punishment, or respect are never qualified with regard to their intended meaning. The appropriate interpretation is assumed and perfectly intelligible to citizens existing within a Judeo-Christian Western tradition, but as Nietzsche writes:

> Everything that exists, no matter what its origin, is periodically reinterpreted by those in power in terms of fresh intentions...No matter how well we understand the utility of a certain physiological organ (or of a legal institution, a custom, a political convention, an artistic genre, a cultic trait) we do not thereby understand anything of its origin (Nietzsche, 1956: 209).

The meaning implicit in a word like "justice" is the meaning a specific group chooses to impart upon it. Justice can be understood as a rough equivalent of reciprocity, or a means by which one imparts mercy. A distinction is not discursively manufactured in these sources. Meaning and context remain rigidly cast in alignment with the text's "object".

The discourse of ethnicity also permeates the texts. Ethnic concerns are consistently associated with the issues of the minority, or in instances when the West is not involved directly, difference. One text defines the word "partition" as the dividing up and resettling of associated groups of people. Global Forces of the Twentieth Century asks the reader if ethnic boundaries are the "solution to the minority question" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 62). Both the textbooks Citizenship and A Changing World effectively isolates Quebecers within the Canadian context. Citizenship labels Quebecers, and other minorities within Canada, as "problems which must be dealt with if Canada is to survive" (Christison, et al. 1991: 298). The text ponders the questions - "should Canadians accept the idea that one provincial government be given special powers that are not given to other provinces", and whether the "problems of identity and a sense of being Canadian are further threatened by a diverse population" (Christison, et al. 1991: 209). For this text, being a citizen of Canada and being Canadian are two very different things.

In four out of the five texts the Canadian exists at the heart of the citizen ideal type. A Changing World makes the claim that "Canada is highly industrialized", and furthermore, its "oceans provide an abundance of fish". The discourse continues, crediting the Canadian government with believing that "consumers and producers should be free to make their own economic choices" (Couture, et al. 1991: 174). Canada's social security system is said to be "reasonable, universal and comprehensive" (Couture, et al. 1991: 176). The text later adds that, Canadians are said to possess strong social programs, as "anyone who needs assistance, regardless of social status, sex or race, receives social benefits" (Couture, et al. 1991: 179). Our belief in the strengths of the "free market" are here said to be tempered with the wisdom to provide for all of our citizens. Interestingly, the word "reasonable" above is not directly qualified, although it most certainly conveys meaning, extra-discursively, which cannot openly be surrendered for fear of exposing a very definite and distinct political agendas (the "other"). At the discursive level this appears an amazing oversight, considering the importance placed on this one word, exposed is the chink in the textual armor. The text clearly and consistently stresses hard work and self sufficiency. A Canadian, here, is one who thinks that it is truly better to give than receive.

Abroad, Canadians shine as diplomats and peace keepers, but will fight when pressed, for a moral cause. Global Forces of the Twentieth Century displays a picture of Canadian troops during the second world war with the caption provided stating - "Canadian troops prepare an unwelcome present for Germany" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 18). Using a colorful metadiscourse the statement assumes a bias. In another excerpt the text normatively places value on the Canadian military project, claiming that "Canadian pilots ... left a record of daring and honour as a result of their heroic conduct" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 17).

While all of the texts focus extensively on the geopolitical region known as the West, other Western nations are not above criticism when the issue is Canadian sovereignty (In the textbook A History of the Twentieth Century, a British publication, Britain assumes the central focus). The United States must accept the role as opportunist when its political and economic policies affect Canada in adverse ways. Now the friendly Americans are labeled "foreigners" (value loading). In A Changing World the ideals of free trade and foreign ownership are denounced, adversely affecting Canada (Couture et al. 1991). Economic opportunism, however, as it affects the remainder of the globe, is never developed. Receiving little attention, Western exploitation is quietly sanctioned in this passive form of legitimation.

All of the texts periodically remind the reader that women are citizens too. Inclusive language and thematic case studies dot the discursive text. A History of the Twentieth Century informs the reader that, not only was Mussolini shot but "they also killed his mistress" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 20). In the text Ideologies, a discourse reviewing the violence used by British women intent on achieving suffrage, sustains the interrogative that it was excessive (Baldwin, et al. 1991: 151). In Global Forces of the Twentieth Century, a case study focuses on women and the war effort. Women are said to have been emancipated by the Second World War, as they were allowed to exit the domestic sphere and enter the value-added work force (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 14). The text does not review other contrasting perspectives, which could significantly alter a reader's understanding of the issues and events discussed. Perspectives remain patriarchal and middle class. The lives of women only achieve significance, as discourses, when they intersect with the lived processes of powerful males, reinforcing the cohesion of the text.

The identity of a "citizen" possesses all of the qualities which defy "difference". It is not fascist, dictatorial or communist, explaining why these seemingly very different concepts can be used interchangeably in some texts. Citizens are not terrorists, radicals or religious fanatics. They are hard working, but do not support "labour unrest", as mass strikes and walkouts are reviewed in all of the texts as harbingers of instability and disharmony. Change, for the ideal citizen comes about through the appropriate "democratic channels". A citizen believes in a "free market", competition, meritocracy and that equal opportunity follows from these aforementioned ideals. A citizen is secular, although acknowledges the importance of the Christian belief system, and does not possess a minority status, despite remaining "tolerant" of others. A citizen is middle class and indulgent of gender differentiation, providing the apolitical context of sameness is maintained.

Most importantly, a citizen ignores the omnipresence of power within a society, choosing instead to view abuses of power and authority as isolated, periodic and external. Thus, people are said to be affected by cultural difference, haplessness, or lifestyle choice. The manipulation of women, or the impoverishment of families, or whole societies, are situations which happen but are not in any way caused or sustained by a "citizen". The experience of others, then, in no way reflects back on the self.

IDENTITY AND CHANGE

In these textbooks identity is constructed as a product of choice, involving informed and enlightened decision making by empathetic actors and expressed through democratic institutions which regulate change. Interestingly, historically established conventions and limitations which circumscribe choice within any society are not discussed in this context. Pluralism and democratic choice, used as a benchmark when reviewing the organs of Western decision making, are used synonymously with free choice. Only in non-democratic states is choice significantly curtailed. Missing is a critical discussion which examines in empirical terms the limitations on Western style democratic institutions. No attempt is made to reconcile the contradictions which develop when the mythology of democratic political choice is juxtapositioned against the ideals of economic free choice. The limitations of a representative democracy in combating entrenched factions of hierarchical power within a society are ignored. The liabilities of institutionalized political networks and their encumbrances on free choice are also absent. The idea of the "one party" democratic state as developed by Chomsky receives no discussion (see Chomsky, 1992).

Constructed within these texts is a discourse extrapolating on the liberal democratic myth. Students are credited with the ability to initiate and manifest their own life environments, simply by exercising an informed right to vote. The liberal democratic "transcendental signified" underwrites textual orientation here. A more critical discourse, which could better prepare the reader in engaging his/her options, is excluded entirely, despite the claim by the textbook Ideologies to the contrary. Meaningful change often involves realigning societal structures. Unfortunately, the student here is left under informed with no one to blame but her/him self.

The emphasis remains one of conformity, despite the claim that "meaningful participation will help create citizens who have self-esteem, tolerance and self reliance" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 115). The textbook Citizenship claims that "citizens are willing to express minority points of view and accept decisions made by the majority because they know their rights are an important part of the process" (Christison, et al. 1991: 46). "Checks and safeguards in a representative democracy" are said to "ensure that power remains with the people" (Christison, et al. 1991: 41). Important to this discourse are the ideals of trust, stability and "responsibility". No mention is made as to what recourse the reader has if choice is not a selection on the ballot, ie. the role of money capital in underwriting party policy. Ironically all of the texts encourage free thinking and self reliance while stressing conformity within the existing system. The process is one of depoliticization.

Polls are another mechanism through which an individual is said to express a voice within a democracy. Ideologies makes the claims that "polls are one of the few means by which the Canadian public can make its collective will known to the politicians" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 113). Poll choice or wording, however, is not discussed. Polling classifications are said to reflect issues and distinctions within the Canadian society. In Ideologies a reader is informed that assumed difference exists along lines of ethnicity or economic class. But having imposed these distinctions upon the reader, the text then implies that collective lobbies generated along these same lines are irrational, adhering to convention rather than issue. Valid lobbies are claimed to be registered through proper channels (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 112). Again choice is curtailed, difference is to be "tolerated" and labeled but never enfranchised.

If the institutionalization of change is to be promoted, restructuring is not, unless carried out in institutional ways. Restructuring is earmarked "radical" and "fanatical" and cannot be encouraged. The Cuban revolution is explained in Citizenship as a "violent revolution where the existing system failed to meet the needs of the people" (Christison, et al. 1991: 10). In A History of the Twentieth Century, John F. Kennedy is said to have been shot by a "fanatic" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 37), and prohibition is said to have made "law breaking a habit for many otherwise respectable Americans". The text goes on to qualify itself asking, "once people get used to breaking one law, what are the rest worth" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 107)? Not only is this comment ideological, defending a specific interpretation of what is right or wrong, but it draws support from an invalid "slippery slope" assumption. Peaceful change brought about by mechanisms other than " the vote", ie. active forms of nonviolent resistance, is overlooked in exclusionary fashion (see Bondurant, 1988).

The reinforcement of stability as an advocate for change permeates all of the texts, in an abuse of editorial privilege. The American Civil Right's movement is poorly documented, despite its level of nonviolent participation and political sophistication. Black power is said to have advanced change through confrontation. "But in the 1970s and 1980s other blacks decided that there was a more effective way - through the ballot box" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 31). Is one to accept the claim by this text that twelve years of Republican administration resulted in meaningful change for this community?

In Citizenship, wars and revolutions are promoted as the results of a differences in opinion (Christison, et al. 1991: 6). The text later adds that, "ideologies... help to set out the organization of decision making systems" (Christison, et al. 1991: 40). Severely lacking, is an analysis which ties widespread and sudden change to empirically lived experiences evolving historically within a specific context. Revolutionary change is often the fulfillment of deliberate political action, grounded in a public desire for structural redress (see Ash, 1972). In the South, social movements have assumed innovative and effective dimensions in the effort to cast off oppression (see Freire, 1983, Lernoux, 1991). For these groups institutional channels may simply not be available, or have been denied. To pursue a discourse which denies this, relegating meaningful social movement to the realm of opinion or belief, is not only inaccurate, but insulting to those involved.

There are no critical tools offered a student, in these texts. Choice, therefore, remains rigidly controlled by the texts themselves, as they construct a "citizenship" archetype two dimensional and apolitical in character. A reader is constantly probed and prompted for solutions to complicated questions and expected to provide opinion or belief as validation. Can a student be asked to ascertain as to whether, or not, violence is a legitimate recourse for minority group grievance (Christison, et al. 1991: 111). Life simply cannot proceed in the absolute universes of Kant or Kohlberg. It is lived and experienced. Identity is the product of this experience, not its artificer. The texts fall surprisingly short of this realization as change remains prescriptive within definable social and symbolic contexts.

CHAPTER 4 - SCARCITY

The issues surrounding human scarcity may be as old as human survival, but solutions, explanations, or even a generalized understanding of the significance of the issues themselves, vacillate with human experience and interpretation. Caught in the flux of environmental change and social adaptation, commonplace understandings reflect an intersubjectivity which is constantly defined and redefined within a lived milieu. Perspectives on scarcity as an ideal type vary considerably, as filtered and related through conceptual paradigms. Specific issues of philosophical and political interest hinge on a society's, or group's, understanding or interpretation of fundamental economic principles and assumptions, morality, and human psychology. How these issues are addressed within a population dramatically affects the lifestyle choices of its members.

Regardless of the primary subject focus, specific assumptions concerning human scarcity underwrite much of a text's translated knowledge base. The textbooks reviewed here offer no exceptions. Scarcity, as an interrelating concept contouring life patterns, receives both a definitive and thorough exposition, as specific axioms of morality, conventionality and power are superimposed on a traditionally defined need for humans to consume and produce. How these dynamics play themselves out within and between specific discourses vary, however, thematic commonalties exist. Impressions and ideals attenuating the marketplace is one such example and is given considerable attention by all of the sources, and so shall be here.

THE WONDERS OF THE MARKETPLACE

No one concept more consistently encapsulates the economic spirit of the "West", than that of the unrestricted marketplace. In capitalist societies the marketplace ideal type provides the benchmark by which all other human transactions are judged. The mechanics of rational exchange are so firmly entrenched in the Western consciousness that reason itself frequently factors in reciprocal value into the decision making process. Christianity may provide an ideological foundation for Western "success", but the capitalist marketplace supplies the measuring stick by which that success is quantified.

Common assumptions specific to socio-economic reproduction confronts all of the texts. The material reviewed dedicates extensive resources attempting to disclose a variety of approaches by which many of the citizens of this planet combat scarcity. However, although several of the systems reviewed differ in basis from a marketplace design, they remain paradigmatically bound to its ideals. Assumed in the evaluation process, leading a student through the merits and liabilities of a particular economic mode, is a commonality, underwriting a specific world view. Concepts and definitions supporting controversial and often incommensurate philosophical and psychological postulates are transcendentally fixed and conveyed as common signifiers. No where is this more evident than through the ideological crash which results when East and West collide.

But it is not sufficient that the rules of the game are dictated through the "authorship". It is also a home game. As with the Cheshire cat, demarcations of orientation are situated upon conceptually shifting ground, never presented as they appear and never appearing to those which they are presented. Through tautology these texts constantly move the reader between the spheres of theoretical abstraction and empirical historicism. By shifting from one position to another discourses continually circumvent the irony of self contradiction and, thus, the disclosure of the "other". The Western marketplace can, therefore, simultaneously offer unfettered free choice to the consumer while cautiously restricting structural abuse, or guarantee state protection from malevolent forces, both external and domestic, while, idealistically, retain a non-interventionist countenance. Apparently, given the wonders of the "free" marketplace, a citizen of a Western capitalist democracy can have her cake and eat it too.

THE MARKET AS MODEL:

Of the economic systems reviewed within the pages of these textbooks the "free" market economy remains firmly seated as the paragon of rational economic policy. Sustaining this illusion requires an articulately directed marriage between theory and practice. In the most extreme examples "real life" situations are entirely skirted by maintaining a strict theoretical approach which relies solely on hypothetical examination (see Couture, et al. 1991: 98, or Christison, et al. 1991: 102). In the majority of situations, however, texts endeavor to incorporate lived experience within the context of the supported model. This is often achieved through the contouring of a historically based case study within the specific dictates of a theoretical postulate(s). A Changing World's review of the Canadian Milk Marketing Board provides an excellent example here (Couture, et al. 1991: 156). Distinctions, between theory and experience, may even be noted, often manifested as a cursory caveat. A Changing World suggests that real life environmental and historical circumstances may actually affect the model of the market economy (Couture, et al. 1991: 101). However, considering that the articulated model itself is only a projected copy of interpreted life experience, an ahistorical and overly deterministic copy, such a confession is of little compensation.

Furthermore, these distinctions are usually made at the outset of a text and then conveniently forgotten. As a reader progresses further through the text these lines of demarcation become blurred, and in some cases, invisible. Academic rigor is thereby spared the "slings and arrows" of lived experience. Market forces are associated with generalized "laws or tendencies" which shape economic events. Theoretical judgments concerning consumption, labour, and production sculpture a reductionist universe (see Baldwin, et al. 1992: 313, Christison, et al. 1991: 60). Significantly, they do not involve direct agency, or conscious human design. Theory, thus, becomes the artificer of human experience, not the explanation of it. Economic theory is treated as a positivistic science, dealing in the construction and taxonomy of "facts". Doing this, however, a discourse disengages the relevancy of history and society in a process of reification, disarming the student, submissive and naive, rather than instilling a sense of political efficacy.

At the heart of these economic postulates is the "metaphor of the market system" (Gilbert, 1984: 115). The market economy is determined to exhibit the characteristics of an organism, or in other examples, a machine. Either organic or cybernetic, autonomy and anonymity are retained. The market mechanism is both self sustaining and immutable. Human actors can only hope to fine tune its sophisticated circuitry. But can a text claim that the profit motive leads to greater productivity and wealth for all, even if it appears selfish, or that private ownership provides the incentive for people to "do their best", despite the opportunity for income to become unevenly distributed (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 310)? Consistently this is the case. Greater intervention can only result in system dissonance and dysfunction, to the detriment of all. The market is guided by laws impervious to the effects of history and society, as demonstratively infallible as anything Newton could devise.

For Gilbert this approach not only pontificates ideology, it reduces human economic activity to the lowest common denominator:

> By applying perfect market assumptions to the study of real problems, by denying the effects of institutional power and historical influences on market behavior, by implying that the 'perfect' market is the best and therefore the model to be emulated, by assuming without question ends of gross maximization of productivity to the exclusion of all other ends, by basing notions of system efficiency on Pareto optimality conditions, by emphasizing harmonious aspects of the market over conflict, the perspective of economic theory has been that of the liberal capitalist state and its teachings have supported that perspective (Gilbert, 1984: 113).

"Abstraction involves simplification, especially of human behavior and motivation" (Joint Matriculation Board in Gilbert, 1984:127). Economic practices and philosophies reflect definitive historical practices, involving the hierarchical dissemination of power and institutional convention. For, if determining characteristics addressing wealth distribution and the division of labour gravitate along specific ahistorical paths subject to the control of particularized economic laws and principles, then why have so many state systems evolved so differently, while embracing similar market systems? Ironically, this differentiation is never made. Instead, a general uniformity among the Western capitalist states is implicit, upon acceptance of the model. A Changing World juxtapositions case studies of American and Swedish industry attempting to underwrite the "structure of the market economy" (Couture, et al. 1991: 90). Ironically Sweden is later redefined in economic terms as centrally planned. The ambiguity created here can not be understated. But, importantly, even when recognizable nomenclatures are created, no distinction is made within the parameters of the categories themselves (see Baldwin, et al. 1992: chapter 7, or Christison, et al. 1991: chapter 7:2). Over coded and reductive, this fabrication is no more acceptable as an ideological credo, than the counterclaim made by the "vulgar" Marxist, for:

> In transferring agency and power from people to mechanisms, and in inputting to people's minds economic inventions like supply and demand curves, economists abstract the reality of human actions, intentions and social interaction into reified variables and self-motivating systems. This elasticity becomes an element of goods rather than human behavior, and models of interaction become determinants of it. These are the classic signs of reification in social explanation and, therefore, the evidence of these effects (Gilbert, 1984: 127).

If the purpose behind studying scarcity is to acquaint individuals with the elementary conditions of their economic environment, enabling them to exert a degree of control, then these texts, as evidenced in this chapter, fall far short of their mark. The forces of supply and demand are only crude measures of individual behavior, they do not circumscribe it.

In Citizenship, scarcity is adopted by the text as a reality governing and restricting social life. Driving this assumption is another one. All people express a commonality in their insatiable need to consume, often without limitation (Christison, et al. 1991: 103). Consumption thus naturally originates in the individual as does the choice of what to consume. Social arrangements are only extensions of individual consumption choices, entered into both contractually and freely. The selective paths of the social aggregate, then, is nothing more than the cumulative total of these individual decisions (Christison, et al. 1991: 103, Couture, et al. 1991: 80). Conveniently ignored, is the choice altering power exercised over the individual by business, government, agents of socialization, and technological technique. Surely economic individual behavior is as much the product of these institutions as their artificer. According to the model, receiving overwhelming support, throughout these texts, the community acts in the interests of the aggregate of individuals. Big government and big business both act in the interests of individual "demand". Interestingly, forces external to the autonomous nation state have little or no impact on these decisions. This is an amazing discovery, considering that some texts openly articulate the need to curtail American hegemony within Canada, ie. A

Changing World. Citizens of the market based democracies, as both consumers and voters manifest their own destinies.

In a market economy the "law of demand" is matched by the logic of "maximizing a profit". Apparently, the pursuit of happiness is not to be propagated through more intrinsic mechanisms of contentment, as the individual is never content. Unbridled growth and advancement facilitates both a teleology and eschatology for the economic actor. State intervention is quietly accepted as a means of mitigating system abuse, but it must never impede neither the direction or momentum of this juggernaut. Excessive legislation and regulation is not only inefficient and cloistering, it is "collectivism".

Through profit maximization the individual facilitates both growth and efficiency within the society. Aggregate growth translates into the material well being of the society and all of its members. The entrepreneur is the vital link in the success of an economy:

> A business person who invests with care and makes a profit satisfies a need in society; both the business person and the society are better off (Christison, et al. 1991: 60).

Theoretical reductionism, however, masks the complex and varied motives behind human cooperation and productivity. Furthermore, the ethics of an action appears to be irrelevant. The market is not a person:

> It is not for the economist to inquire into the origins or merits of these preferences (unlimited wants), as there are no economic grounds for giving a meal to a starving Asian rather than an English millionaire. Utility derives from the individual alone and is therefore completely subjective and cannot be compared (Gilbert, 1984: 107).

The textbook notes that the "profit motive may appear selfish" but that "it promotes research and savings and leads ultimately to greater productivity and wealth for all" (Baldwin, et al. 1991: 310). The market may not be driven by ethical considerations, but it is benevolent. All are rewarded to a degree. But how is this achieved, and why is one participant willing to accept less of the rewards than the next? The answer is genetically coded. People may be commonly driven by the insatiable need to consume, but they are distinguished by their "natural ability" to do so. Here the reader is introduced to the concepts engaging both the division of labour and distribution in income with the chosen avenue consummating a marriage between liberalism and structural functionalism.

Meritocracy is of enormous paradigmatic importance here, as an ideology of the modern capitalist state. Both the significance of one's rewards as well as the failures are determined within the fabric of the individual. Success, then, is the direct product of natural ability, and accrued to an actor's marginal productivity. There is no overarching theory to qualify the contradictions which develop when any simple theorem is superimposed on a complex universe. Issues surrounding collective bargaining, environmental degradation, or the need for government regulation in the market place, are quietly reviewed within a parallel discourse, outside and apart from the greater postulates of the model. In A Changing World , chapter 10, case studies review income levels for women, political interventionism, and economic inequality and public ownership, within Canada, without significantly deconstructing the market myth (Couture, et al. 1991: 174). This is a significant achievement considering Canada's assigned status here, as that which possesses a mixed economy. When a crisis in legitimation is unavoidable, occurring when an inelastic model collides directly with the empirical world, the dilemma is usually mitigated in an obsequious tribute to compromise or equivocation, resulting in the acknowledgment of the need, for a mixed system, or in the example of Ideologies, a passivity of contentment, as conditions of disparity, are downplayed or circumvented (see "Poverty and Happiness", Baldwin, et al. 1992: 432). The acquiescence, however, is short lived.

It appears incredible that these texts would engage in a discourse which promotes self doubt and blame as the axioms of disparity and haplessness, ignoring, where possible, other explanation. What are the resulting permutations in an assigned regression analysis examining socio-political influence, dual labour markets, inequitable access to education, legal and institutional barriers to market entry, the role of capital and technology, or the influences of one's gender, ethnicity and class. What of personal choice or preference. There are no explanations here, even though volumes have been published reviewing the effects of these factors on the life patterns of the individual (Bourdieu 1976, Carnoy 1980, or 1986, Giroux 1979, or 1983, Apple 1976, 1986, or 1989). To apply the natural argument of supply and demand to lived experiences is to make the claim that some individuals possess talents which are valued within a society and that others do not.

Gilbert maintains that even though one may recognize that there are positions within society which involve specialized talents, which the majority of the population may not possess, this does not explain the lived experiences of the amorphous many, whose tasks can be assumed by a significant volume of people possessing the necessary natural abilities (Gilbert, 1984: 119). Gilbert makes an important contribution here. Considering the artificial barriers constructed around many occupational choices and the propensity to under subscribe in a number of the professional vocations, the list of those whose talents are truly distinguishable is a short one indeed.

Furthermore, having acknowledged inherent differences in specific economic actors is not to say that they rate superior compensation, or that all compensation need occur in extrinsic forms, or that others be selected to perform unpleasant tasks with little compensation in any form:

> In a decent society, socially necessary and unpleasant work would be divided on some egalitarian basis, and beyond that people would have, as an inalienable right, the widest possible opportunity to do work that interests them. They might be rewarded ("reinforced") by self-respect, if they do their work to the best of their ability, or if their work benefits those to whom they are related by bonds of friendship and sympathy and solidarity ... In a decent society of the sort just described - which, one might think, becomes increasingly realizable with technological progress - there should be no shortage of scientists, engineers, surgeons, artists, craftsmen, teachers, and so on, simply because their work is intrinsically rewarding.

> There is no reason to doubt that people in these occupations would work as hard as those fortunate few who can choose their own work do today (Chomsky, 1972).

Discourses which reproduce existing class relations within the present system do very little in advancing the efficacy of the student. Advocacy and blame are not solely the inherent property of the individual. Furthermore, even accepting the validity of the natural ability model, its premises remain unsound. People are not paid what they are worth, in terms of their marginal productivity, or any other mechanism used in isolating this residual. The fortunate are subsidized by the powerless. Entire Northern economies are subsidized by Southern labour (see New Internationalist, July 1994, Larrain, 1989, Hymer in Weisband, 1989). "Free market entry", "free mobility of labour" or "full employment" can only be realized in an abstract universe.

The textbook Ideologies makes the claim that the "price system... operates with respect to the workers and owners of the resources" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 309). The intention here is to show how prosperity not only encourages profits, but profit sharing as workers are in a position to bargain for a better wage. The understanding is that the "free market system remains in a supply/demand equilibrium contingent on the forces of "perfect competition". Here, "there are incentives to use resources efficiently", as "competition helps raise quality and lower prices" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 313), and profitable labour is in demand.

Assimilating this knowledge, is the reader is to believe that individual actors can influence market marginal equilibrium simply by withholding a service or a commodity, or refusing to purchase a product? Ironically, even in theory, perfect competition disempowers the individual, as movement along either the supply or demand curve reflects an aggregated total. One cannot extrapolate from the micro to the macro. Regardless, perfect competition does not and cannot exist untempered by the powerful economic lobbies which comprise the current system.

Despite the defendability of this statement, there is no serious review of the oligopoly, or the evolution of monopoly capitalism within the world marketplace, although oligopolies are functionally discussed, ie. Ideologies, p. 417. Discourses targeting the manipulation and waste created through excess product differentiation, or commodity dumping are surprisingly absent. Media control (see Herman and Chomsky, 1988), cartels (except in the example of the "Arab" boycott in the early 1970s), manipulation of the commodity markets (see George 1986), IMF intervention, and the tremendous power wielded by the trans-national corporation, are either understated or not discussed at all. The market is not the composite of the sum total of specific contractual agreements forged between individuals. The individual is powerless, in most cases, to underwrite the value of his/her contribution. The proposition of a perfectly competitive marketplace is not only inaccurate, it is absurd.

The dehumanizing of human "value" through the market model culminates in the arbitrary designation that human work is to be equated with and determined as a factor of production. In Citizenship labour is acknowledged as an input factor which affects economic production (Christison, et al. 1991: 114). According to A Changing World, labour can be equated with an economic commodity which is regulated by the same impartial forces which govern other resource allocation (Couture, et al. 1991:82). Ideologies makes the claim that "it is not surprising that government and industries strive to introduce more technology, since after the initial cost of installation, machines are cheaper than human labour" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 104).

Amazingly, these commentaries circumvent serious qualification. By assigning human labour the same status as capital and land, it follows that the allocation of one is to take place only when considering the opportunity costs regarding the others. Is the astute student to derive from this that, factory closures, due to corporate retrenchment, or wage rollbacks, are not only acceptable actions, but prudent ones? In this context human labour is completely stripped of its dignity and self worth and placed on the plane of the inanimate commodity.

Viewed upon as a theoretical model, a market economy retains a logic and simplicity untenable in the "real" world. By pursuing this path a text elevates the Western capitalist system above many very pertinent and valid criticisms, while avoiding a more sophisticated analysis on an extremely complex system which seldom gravitates along simple, logical networks.

But there are other mechanisms at work in these texts, as they promote the prosperity and vibrancy of the Western economic system. Contrivances which moves back in the direction of difference.

CAPITALISM AS AN IDEOLOGY:

If the Western economic system is an efficient and prosperous system, it is also a preferable one. Capitalism is represented foremost as an ideology, although it is never referenced in this context. The capitalist system is "our" system and, thus, must be defended. But what does "our" system look like?

For A Changing World determination is in equivocation. The text expresses that "there are many advantages to the market system" (Couture, et al. 1991: 104), while defending the American system of commodity exchange. But the same text later claims that "some economists argue that every economy in the world is, to some extent mixed" (Couture, et al. 1991: 145). This apparent incongruency is exacerbated further with the claim, because of "government intervention, the United States does not have a pure market economy". (Couture, et al. 1991: 104).

This capriciousness may not be as puzzling as it initially seems, nor is it isolated to only one textbook. More frequently, however, the market model is used connotatively rather than directly in connection with the Western market place. Regardless, the contradiction is one indemnified in Western culture. Chomsky writes:

> The same businessman who will make a passionate speech about free trade in an after dinner speech will go off to Washington and make sure that the subsidies keep flowing (Chomsky, 1992: 123).
>
> No businessman would ever tolerate being subjected to the ravages of competitive capitalism and the free market without a government to protect him and a public subsidy, etc. But we do insist upon that for our victims. It makes them easier to exploit (Chomsky, 1992: 161).

The contradictions occur in the texts as they do in the larger society, from which the discourses were ultimately derived, lending clarification to both the complexity and corruption which exists within the Western marketplace. Ironically, the freedoms offered by the Western capitalist democracies, as celebrated in all of the sources, have never been extended to the economic sectors. The discourse surrounding the concept of "free enterprise", particularly within the North American milieu, curiously sidesteps this significant matter. That there is nothing free about this particular economic arrangement is somehow determined to be irrelevant.

Prevalent is an embellishment of things individual at the expense of the collective, with government representation in the latter category. If an individual fails to produce, or goes home hungry, it is may be attributed to human frailty or laziness, more frequently at extra-discursive levels, and is certainly a preferred situation to structural change. It is not that these disparities go unnoticed. Most of these texts, at least to a degree, acknowledge that indigency does exist in a capitalist society, and that some actors are inherently more powerful than others, ie. corporate America. However, the bids made by these subtexts are not for distributive justice (see Couture, et al. 1991, pp. 107-115). In a simplified scheme of moving from a market model through the ideals of a mixed economy to the final antithesis, the command society, there is no room for an admitted need to compromise. Enormous ambiguity occurs when a discourse surfaces which concedes weakness, sequestering the necessity for system wide reform.

The production and distribution mode familiar with Sweden, reviewed by the majority of texts, is rejected, as the prevalence of the "laisse faire" discourse overrides any meaningful arbitration. The textbook Ideologies criticizes Sweden for its cumbersome public programs and restrictions, while praising recent restructuring in the Swedish economy. The text makes the claim that, the reformed "Swedish example indicates that effective management and an appropriately educated and trained work force are essential for industrial growth" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 383). Ironically, Sweden has a history of success in both of these areas. The text neglects to confess that Sweden's reforms, initiated by a sudden swing to the political "right", simply brought the Swedish economy in greater synchronization with the global capitalist system. The text also abandons a discourse describing the effects restructuring had on the Swedish quality of life, a term seemingly exchanged here for its monetary equivalent, standard of living. No mention is made of the extreme economic and political pressures imposed upon the nation from external political forces, placing economic growth in front of the well being of its people. The source instead claims that the "Swedish state was designed for everyone, not just the poor" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 381). This is an incredible statement displaying a callousness on the part of the "authorship". Is transference of apathy and insensitivity a pedagogical goal here? Also the statement is self contradictory. In an economy designed for everyone, there would not be an involuntary poor.

Consistently valued in all cases is a measurement of prosperity which focus on capital development and wealth accumulation. All other forms of economic procurement are evaluated within this paradigm. If the yardstick of a successful economy is aggregate capital accumulation and product differentiation, can any other system compete with capitalism?

Canada is at times proclaimed a mixed society, at least denoted as such, yet it remains underpinned by a non-interventionist discourse, inherently market driven in its orientation. In the textbook Citizenship the market economy receives high grades for its successes in innovation and growth (Christison, et al. 1991: 127). Interestingly, research and development spill overs, derived from government initiated research, are not mentioned, despite the influence this enormous windfall has on the long term success of many major corporations. Furthermore, the importance of public resources to corporate survival, in the forms of bailouts, tax concessions, protective tariffs and subsidies, is severely understated. The text instead claims that the market economy provides "most freedoms". Minimum wage laws, which "force employers to pay workers at least a minimum amount, giving the workers some economic security", are, however, seen as a compromise, resulting in a partial loss in freedom (Christison, et al. 1991: 127).

What is amazing about all of this is the attempt to engage in a discourse transcribed in a ethical vacuum. It is one thing to suggest that Western prosperity is the direct result of the capitalist system, as inaccurate as this may be it is a common theme in all of these texts, with the apparent failure of global communism held as evidence. It is another to disguise the liabilities of an unlimited growth economy as insignificant and isolated, that inefficiencies in the system can be attributed to government intervention, or perhaps common laziness. A Changing World uncontestingly reminds the reader that, "the old Puritan ethic that states 'if they won't work, they shouldn't eat' still expresses the beliefs some of some people in Canada and the United States" (Couture, et al. 1991: 165). Global Forces of the Twentieth Century adds that socialism in the Soviet Union resulted in an agricultural sector which lacked incentive as well as a responsible approach in feeding its people (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 265).

A Changing World announces, incredulously, "one out of every five people in the US lives below the poverty line" (Couture, et al. 1991: 112). Is a reader to believe that poverty in the West is an aberration and not a systemic creation? Poverty and its implications are simply downplayed, or relegated to the past. Morally based inquiries which seriously address the distribution of resources with in a society are mysteriously absent from this discourse. The ideals of income redistribution when mentioned, are decontextualized. Discourses which attest to poverty as a creation of the capitalist system are conveniently delegitimized as the angry words of the critic, or simple considerations for the future. Social programs, if affordable, are promoted as the products of a just society, a "fair social contract", or compromise in a system, conceptual stopgap measures to an otherwise equitable ideology.

Citizenship posits that "it is not necessary that all people have the same wealth, just that they have the same opportunities to satisfy their needs" (Christison, et al. 1991: 131). This extraordinary comment, however, receives no philosophical qualification. Interestingly, the same text does not considers medical care and education a "basic need", but a luxury to be consumed alongside "fine foods" and "expensive clothing" (Christison, et al. 1991: 122). The text adds that:

> one may have a good quality of life because her lifestyle closely matches her expectations... the other individual may feel frustrated, unsatisfied or unfulfilled (Christison, et al. 1991: 124).

There exits here an interesting rationalization for poverty, and an even better one for "conspicuous consumption". The text ratifies income disparity as acceptable and "normal". No reference is given to opportunity differentials which exist in these societies. Are students to assume from this context that disparities do not exist? There is no mention of Canada's Native population and the Fourth World poverty which most are expected to endure, residing in the Bantu stands that Canadians call reservations.

This, perhaps, is not so surprising when one considers the larger societal acceptance of these differentials. In an analysis of twenty-seven economic texts, Gilbert found only one which treated the issue of inequality in the distribution of wealth in any detailed fashion. Gilbert comments, that for the rest of the texts, the controversial issue was conveniently avoided (Gilbert, 1984: 117).

A Changing World states, in reference to the United States, that "Americans are free to buy whatever they wish as long as they can afford it" (Couture, et al. 1991: 107). This comment may be contradictory to the point of absurdity, but in astonishing detail, it thematically encapsulates the discursive configuration which is being transmitted to the reader, in these texts. That this commentary does not, apparently, appear problematic to a great many people, conveys a confirmed belief in an ideological system, untempered by a cohesive morality, or even an underwriting logic. To the credit of the textbook Ideologies the following quotation from a Steinbeck novel is included:

> It has always seemed strange to me (said Doc) the things we admire in man, kindness and generosity, openness, honesty, understanding and feeling are (symbols of) failure in our system. And those traits we detest, sharpness, greed, acquisitiveness, meanness, egotism and self-interest are the traits of success. And while men admire the quality of the first, they love and produce the second (Baldwin et al. 1992: 307).

Unfortunately, the above quotation is included in the form of a question requiring reciprocation from the student. It is not used in the context of a direct criticism and receives no further validation from the text. Later when weighing the "pros and cons" of the capitalist system Ideologies issues three direct "third person" criticisms. All are followed by a counter argument from Milton Friedman. Friedman, renowned, for the strength of his views, is a poor choice for this type of debate, particularly since the criticisms he is replying to are extremely general in orientation and conservative in degree, most of which are acknowledged by advocates of the current system. Among Friedman's more distinguishable defenses are:

> There are only two ways of co-ordinating the economic activities of millions, totalitarian Marxism and Capitalism.
>
> Marxism can not truly be democratic.
>
> The real progress materially have meant little to the wealthy and a great deal to the poor, and if we were not rewarded materially we wouldn't try (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 315).

The above three premises are not only unsound, they are extremely poor arguments. Do they have a place in this textbook?

This discourse, however, continues. Ideologies claims, that in theory, "those who contribute the most to what society deems essential will earn the most money" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 429), seemingly an argument for marginal productivity. Citizenship states that "most Canadians support the argument that the Canadian economy would benefit if Canadian business became more competitive" (Christison, et al. 1991: 144). Inductively, this is a poor argument, both invalid, as it "appeals to the masses", and unsound ("empiricist subjectivism"). Is one to blame poverty on the poor? Does Iacocca contribute one-thousand times more to a society than a single working mother with four children? Does he deserve one-thousand times more for less work? Why are not these questions addressed? What of institutionalized gender discrimination (see Fraser, 1989)?

A Changing World acknowledges that poverty is a problem in "market systems", then equivocates to the position that poverty is only a problem because the poverty line is adjusted to high, as "poverty is relative". The text continues, claiming that , "it appears that no matter what governments or people do, there will always be poverty". The final blow is dealt in the claim that those who are considered poor in Canada may actually be considered rich in other countries (Couture, et al. 1991: 181). This remarkable deduction is premised, at least partially, on the assumption that most poor Canadians own VCRs and automobiles.

Assuming that this is true, that is, that poor people own VCRs and automobiles, although possessing a VCR might prove problematic for the homeless, the worth of both of these possession may well be a fraction of the cost of one months rent and food bill. People are poor when the sum aggregate of the total pooled resources of a family group is barely sufficient to cover the costs of staying alive. That someone else can do it more cheaply in a different society offers little consolation, in either society.

A Changing World dedicates considerable resources in determining the difference between relative and absolute poverty (Couture. et al. 1991: 181). That absolute poverty is defined here in relative terms, seems of little consequence. It is of importance, to the text, to establish qualitative difference in this area. This is understandable, as the modern capitalist state is proclaimed as a compromise which works. Acknowledging extraordinary disparities in life styles, or injustices in the system, would delegitimize this claim. Modern capitalism is said to have evolved and progressed, apart from its inimical ancestor which denied so many in the 19th century. Poverty, therefore, by definition, does not exist in the modern Western state, particularly Canada. Those nations which experience poverty, ie. the nations of the South, do so out of difference, as corrupt political administration or poor resource allocation result. Primarily, they are poor because they have not yet developed an "efficient" and modern "market" system.

The text cannot and does not acknowledge disparity as the direct product of the capitalist system. It cannot acknowledge that poverty is in all cases a relative distinction, that it often exists in Canada, and other nations, as a direct consequence of a specific form of economic association, poor people subsidize those which are less poor. That Canadians are “better off” than other nations only attests to Canada's success at importing resources and labour from other nations at a fraction of the realistic value of those "commodities", in return exporting expensive resources and, ultimately, poverty. Poverty is the result of consistently being under rewarded for one's resources. There is no magic formula here. The text circumambulates the issue, denying the "other". The sources reviewed decline to adequately or accurately explain the evolution of the modern capitalist system, with its influences felt in every corner of the globe (see Lorrain 1989, Weisband, 1989). Economies are not self contained within nationalized political demarcations. The enormous power differentials which exist between players on the world scene cannot be understated, or ignored (see New Internationalist, May 1993, or July 1994).

Challenges to the status quo acceptance of the present economic structures are periodically offered in most of these texts. A Changing World raises several very significant issues, foreign hegemony, income disparity, corporate takeover, and media control (Couture, et al. 1991: 109). But these issues, while they are raised as proposed criticisms of the present system, are not reviewed contextually, as interactive forms of the same hierarchy or system. Conditioners such as corporate power and media control combine in ways that dramatically affect everyday lived realities (see Herman and Chomsky, 1988). The above issues, as conveyed by A Changing World, fall under the heading “other concerns” (Couture, et al. 1991: 108), and are not textual indictments of the system, merely criticisms. Furthermore, the criticisms are never advanced in the necessary moral contexts.

In all of the situations, where a discourse doubles back on itself to criticize the existing Western economic system, the student is left with the acceptance of the "fact", that harmful side effects are often the results of even the best of cures. Despite the problems, this is the best system in providing one with a good standard of living. Legitimation is achieved, the "other" is effectively silenced.

THE INTERSECTION OF THE PUBLIC AND THE PRIVATE:

Dissecting the abstract ideals of a self contained economic system is the demarcation which separates the public and the private spheres of social existence. Promoting a generalized discourse, this division hinges on the specific socio-economic differences associated with individualism and collectivism. Collectivism, often accepted as a discourse underwriting socialist enterprises, projects an extradiscursive presence in these texts enveloping all things "public". Individualism maintains the spirit of things otherwise. This private dimension is inclusive of any such economic transaction, ranging from the vending of peanuts at a football game, to the wranglings of the largest of trans-national corporations, whose "private" administrative and financial net workings may dwarf those of all but the largest of nations.

The decision by a society to invest in things private, is an auspicious one. The Swedish people "showed innovation and competitiveness with the rest of the world" when pressures from the global market forced the society into compromising its progressive stance (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 380). The textbook Ideologies advances the changes as being "spectacular", introducing "new products", "new businesses", and a "positive atmosphere". The discourse, premised solely on the necessity for aggregate economic growth and development moves on to praise the "more cooperative relationship between government and business", which apparently materialized as more industries were deregulated (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 380). Cooperation in this context meaning that industry became less accountable to the people of Sweden.

Consistently, in all contexts, public spending is labelled as inefficient and interventionist. Ironically the behavior of the private sphere remains beyond censure. Irresponsibility on the part of the private citizen or corporation are ignored, while case after case of public negligence is reviewed, particularly as it applies to the Soviet Union. A History of the Twentieth Century offers the reader the following adage, "collectivize one louse and the rest will run away" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 81).

That an agribusiness can decimate an entire region in the Philippines, or Senegal, for private profit, seems inconsequential. Global Forces of the Twentieth Century reports that the "Chernobyl disaster clearly illustrates the perils of operating a nuclear power plant with insufficient safety mechanisms" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 278). Ironically, this focus on negligence, concerning the responsible use of technology, never disclosed the events of Bhopal or Valdez.

In A Changing World a case study examining Milk Marketing Boards concludes soundly against the efficiency and logic of such a public enterprise. The text claims that:

> people who believe in free enterprise insist that only the efficient producers should be allowed to remain in business. If the milk business were run like any other private enterprise, milk prices would fall (Couture, et al. 1991: 156).

The deliberation of this discourse perpetrates an incompetence to the point of absurdity. That this argument may be accepted as an adequate commentary by the inexperienced reader, displays an irresponsibility on the part of the authorship. This comment may be fielded for several reasons.

Firstly, there is no reason to believe that prices would fall. Losses to the farmer may only serve to subsidize profit taking further along the production line. Secondly, one is not dealing with a "free" market, or perfect competition. Industry receives subsidization constantly through tariff structures, tax loopholes, interest free loans, or loans of technology. Subsidization of the corporation is one social program a Western government will never cut. Thirdly, entire industries could be lost to a nation or economy, forcing the consumer to import commodities at dictated prices, using costly reserves of foreign currency. This specific situation is a common one, particularly in the "Third World" (see The New Internationalist, May 1993, Hancock, 1989, Torrie, 1983). Fourthly, the thrust of worldwide agripower dictates quantitative changes in both a commodity's price and/or supply. Decisions made by the individual producer, or a Canadian government marketing board, cannot significantly alter these effects, but will always be influenced by them. These elites can hardly be construed as having the best interest of the producer or consumer at heart. George writes:

> We must be honest and recognize that their goal (Western agripower) is not, and never was, to feed today's undernourished or starving millions, but to perpetuate poverty and dependence for altogether "valid" political and economic reasons (George, 1991: 19).

Finally, Government involvement in the regulation and control of the marketplace addresses more, and well should, than the bottom line of marginal aggregate production. To submit anyone to unnecessary humiliation, hardship, and relocation, so that another, thousands of miles away, may profit, is unethical, particularly when that individual is powerless to change the inevitable outcome.

Ironically, corporations never seem to intervene in the affairs of the citizen. There is nothing in these texts which seriously targets corporate power or hegemony as it exists in Western society, ie. the manipulative affects of advertisement, media literacy, oligopic affects on consumer sovereignty, although these affectations, or at least some of them, are discussed, in a generic context. A discourse which depoliticizes their potential influences on the, seemingly, autonomous actor. The reader is left applauding matters "private" including Europe's middle class in the 1920s:

> ... for their individual initiatives, unlimited by government interference, that had resulted in spectacular economic growth (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 35).

Governments are somehow determined to exist as entities in themselves apart from a detached citizenry, despite the unmentionable detail that these institutionalized state structures make up the front line of defense against serious societal reform (see Brewer, 1989). For example, the experience of the United States government, both at home and, particularly, abroad, has been one of imperialism. Government coercion in the West is conveniently overlooked by a discourse which constructs an entirely different image. Government interference is problematic, but not because people die or suffer on account of it. Government is inefficient, not malevolent, fettering the otherwise egalitarian "free" market. The particular face of the administration, ie. whether its policies are Keynesian or conservative, produces little apparent difference in the overall object of the discourse. Distinction here is quantitative, not qualitative, viz. how much does a specific form of government intervene in the economic actions of the citizen, or influence a climate where:

> Producers, or entrepreneurs can freely enter the marketplace with any product they think will sell and that meets government standards.
>
> People are individually free to choose where they will work... The theory of the market economy is 'if people are willing to work hard, they will be able to improve their positions in life (Couture, et al. 1991: 93).

The alternative to no intervention is, apparently, intervention. A caption printed in the textbook Citizenship under a picture of Polish shoppers queuing to buy meat asks, "would you be satisfied with this system of providing merchandise to citizens" (Christison, et al. 1991: 138)? In another example from the Ideologies text, the Soviet Union is said to have overcome market inefficiency by importing "foreign technology and establishing an underground smuggling network to procure such advanced technological data as computer microchips" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 406). The text continues the assault on "collectivism" claiming that Soviet rural workers found it "demoralizing that some got rewarded for being tricky and performing shabby work whereas the rest merely collected their guaranteed monthly salaries (Baldwin, et al. 1992:

407). Reciprocating, the textbook Citizenship maintains that the "USSR and China have come under intense pressure to adopt some capitalist ideas. People need some personal incentives to work for society's well being" (Christison, et al. 1991: 111).

What is overtly evident here is that "collectivism" makes for a poor philosophy, and an even poorer economic policy. Conversely, capitalism, grounded in the individualistic spirit of innovation and ambition, is the panacea. But are not the students only being offered a placebo? What distinguishes ambition from avarice? Is not both tricky behavior and shabby work often rewarded in capitalist societies? Is the reader expected to believe that the "smuggling of technology" is a vice only indigenous to command economies? Particularly when tremendous innovations in Western technology are at the expense of the public, who finance military related research. The matter that private corporations abscond technology, and costly training, at public expense, seems a mitigating circumstance here.

Finally, how can a text make the claim, at least without significant philosophical qualification, that firstly, people need some personal incentives to work for society's well being, and secondly, and more importantly, that these incentives must be extrinsic and material? This discourse, if swallowed, can only leave realities immediately confusing, and ultimately, disappointing.

THE MARKET AS EMPLOYER

The freedom extended the consumer in capitalism is not transferable to the labour market. An amazing ambivalence surrounds the world of the worker. Circumspect and taciturn, discourses endeavor to avoid wherever possible the issues which threaten to redefine existing rhetorical understandings pertaining to market freedom. Importantly, the individual is free to enter the labour market whenever she so chooses, but does not possess the liberty to appraise the value of her own labour. This is left completely to the charge of the "laisse faire" machinery. A safety net, like minimum wage legislation, or social assistance, when affordable, is offered as a sufficient barrier to those who may fall through the cracks. In the cases where adjustment must occur, the producer is fully within his rights to exercise his power of advantage and may lay off workers or even relocate if the market demands it.

The labourer, however, is not entitled to the same autonomy. When the worker attempts to negotiate an adjustment schedule, it is labelled a "labour dispute", or "labour strife". Most texts are sympathetic to a worker's needs, but as one text puts it, workers can only be granted a living lifestyle and financial security if society can afford it (O'Callaghan, 1987: 174). "Society" represents an alien world for the labourer. This prescript also applies to the above mentioned controls and programs designed, in theory, to insulate the individual from extreme economic adversity. A History of the Twentieth Century reminds the student that "Britain was deeply in debt because of the huge cost of the war (WW II), yet the voters expected no delays in turning Britain into a welfare state".(O'Callaghan, 1987: 186).

These discourses endorse a "trickle down" style of economic reproduction, advocating that worker lifestyles can only appreciate after all other participating market players have taken their share. Ironically, in applying such a strategy, times of cyclical market downswing mean reductions in the quality of worker lifestyle, at a time when compensation is most required. By promoting a regime where workers underwrite the corporation, or government, against significant loss due to market austerity, the texts legitimate labour exploitation. Unfortunately, no discourse enunciates the preeminence of human rights over aggregate market indicators. Evidently, society can afford to place the profits of some over the needs of others.

While one discourse maintains a sympathetic ear to the worker and indigent in society, another advocates broad reductions in fiscal allocation, and corporate and personal taxation, an intersection of discourse patterns not unlike the present day collision between Keynesian policies and "monetarism". Persevering, wealth accumulation and concentration are empathized, devoid of even a tokenistic attempt to address redistribution. Examining the issue through the eyes of the Canadian middle class, taxation assumes a contemptability, a discourse both prevalent and prolific within a Western cultural milieu.

A Changing World calculates, for the benefit of the reader, the amount of tax that a single person making 50,000 a year would have to pay as a citizen of Canada. The reader is expected to vicariously assume the persona of this hapless individual. Despite the reality that most Canadians, especially Canadian women, will never "aspire" to similar positions of pecuniary power. The text inquires, "do Canadians pay too much taxes", or "do Canadian tax payers pay too much and discourage people from looking for work" (Couture, et al. 1991: 188)? Interestingly, the reversal of the interrogative is not a consideration here, inquiring as to whether Canadians pay enough taxes. This would seem a particularly good question to ask Canada's wealthier citizens.

A Changing World suggests that Canadian and US tax structures discriminate against the middle classes. How these class structures become entrenched in the first place, amazingly, appears a matter of small consequence. Ironically, in contradictory fashion, the text also defends the fairness of this system, claiming that "US tax rates are progressive, which means that the higher your income, the more you pay" (Couture, et al, 1991: 115). In reciprocation, the text claims that the "progressive tax system also encourages people to hide their income in an attempt to avoid paying taxes" (Couture, et al. 1991: 157). Evidently, this is to be construed as a fault in the tax system as the text makes no attempt to condemn or even further question the motives behind this behavior.

Taxation is reviewed by these sources as if existing within a conceptual vacuum. The quantitative repercussions of over or under taxation, as relative variables, are not discursively linked to the material products of this form of redistribution, ie. public works projects, infrastructure maintenance and development, education, or health care. However, the issues surrounding social safety nets prove less evasive and are denounced to be both excessive and expensive. In a remarkable slight of hand the citizen is to be entrusted with every right to expect roads for her car, or colleges for her children, but should not be required to underwrite the expense, or even acknowledge that these particular amenities are constructed for her benefit. In pronounceable fashion the dominant discourse, addressing taxation, bends back upon itself here. There is no discussion of the significance of regressive taxation, or other taxation forms which adversely penalizes the poor, and no meaningful breakdown with regard to who and whom, does and does not, benefit from the allocation of tax dollars. Without revealing the other side of the equation, the entire process is both spurious and silly.

If the Soviet Union symbolizes a nation without choice, Sweden brandishes the downtrodden soul of the overtaxed. Regarding Sweden, a proponent of the "mixed economy", a text can enunciate difference while maintaining social distance. A Changing World claims that "in some mixed economies, taxes are so high that the incentive to work hard and earn more money is reduced" (Couture, et al. 1991: 157). Targeting the Swedish welfare system the text asks, "who pays for all of this", responding, "the Swedish people do". The source maintains that taxes in Sweden are among the highest in the world and offers the following questions:

> Is 15 months too long to stay home with a child?

Is it fair to the employer to have workers take such a long leave?

Are high taxes worth paying to have that much time off (Couture, et al. 1991: 162)?

The "sandbox mentality" executed by this text is also parochial. The discourse acknowledges no other perspectives than the one to which it is dedicated. Fifteen months will most certainly appear a "long time" to the North American reader who is not immediately familiar with a program originating someplace else. The ideological coding is undoubtedly dissimilar. Yet the text exercises no effort in acquainting the student with either philosophical, or value difference. Either the world thinks like North Americans, or they should.

Why is the employer the one to solely determine when and when not an individual works, and surely children are not expected to look after themselves? The North American solutions advocating hierarchical authority and contractual daycare services are not the only ones. The text reports that, in Canada "due to high operation costs the government recently cut back services , to the CBC and the Canadian Pacific Railway" (Couture, et al. 1991: 162). The source never explains what cost for what service is considered high, or who determines it to be so. This is a remarkably loaded sequence of comments, seemingly unsuitable to the use for which these texts are intended.

But if Sweden taxes excessively and the Soviet Union offers poor consumer choice, then were is the aspiring entrepreneur to turn for direction? The unanimous answer is

Japan. Japan is touted as a late twentieth century success story. The constructed image of Japan, however, is not to be confused with Japan, the country, which integrates an effective combination of Public investment, regulation and redistribution of resources, with a well organized private sector. This is also not the Japan feeling the vertigo of dramatic social and economic change. The Japanese, advanced here in mythological proportions, "have shown themselves to be hard working, loyal, easy to manage and train, self confident people" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 397). Here, "Western manufacturers are losing the productivity war with Japan"(Baldwin, et al. 1992: 395). The aura surrounding these working automatons is enhanced further by their performance in the school house:

> Respect for the teacher, strict dress codes, and the absence of school dances and other social activities help foster the attitude that school is a work place and a learning place (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 393).

For these sources, modern Japan is synonymous with economic progress. Charts and graphs point to the tremendous economic advancements that these people have undertaken (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 397). The message is a direct one ,despite qualification by the textbook Ideologies that all is not well in the Japanese state, as apathy and dissension are said to have recently penetrated the rank and file of the Japanese workplace. Hard work, dedication, and compliance, are the stuff out of which prosperous societies are hued. But not necessarily a Japanese society, which has contracted its own problem. Ideally, "our" society could become such a utopia. The hidden curriculum is not so well concealed here.

While texts stress the importance of the compliant, industrious worker, greed among the masses is not to be condoned. This shibboleth is resounded again in the attack on the entertainer and the athlete. The tremendous social mobility which these people have enjoyed, particularly in North America, is proclaimed to be excessive. A Changing World is highly critical of the 1990's baseball players strike, arguing that the owners risked the capital in financing the venture and deserve compensation (Couture, et al. 1991: 110). The source later, in functionalist fashion, asks the student to prioritize the market value of several occupations. The textbook Ideologies echoes this disenchantment and is extremely critical of the tremendous salaries that these individuals command (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 86).

Significantly, there are times when the market is wrong in its allocation of self worth. But if this is so, why are these athletes and entertainers the only ones censured, while the exorbitant incomes of some physicians, lawyers and captains of industry are ignored. In this context value takes on a totally different meaning.

THE DEPOLITICIZATION OF SCARCITY

A Changing World states that "the difference between an industrialized country and a non-industrialized country may simply be the luck of the draw" (Couture, et al. 1991: 86). This comment encapsulates a discourse often used and, almost as often, relied upon to explain or mitigate substantively definable inequity, as it pertains to specific empirical realities. Luck, or fate, exonerates all players. It is the ultimate ontology of convenience and is relied upon as such. Structural Functionalism, Economic Determinism, Social

Darwinism, are all transcendentally signified explanations incorporating the rules of chance within their repertoires. Like Plato's Republic, one engages a predeterminate existence, indifferent and unrelenting. The affectations of land, weather, genetics, topography, race, ethnicity, religiosity, belief, they are all used, as politics and power sustain bureaucratized and understated delimitations, disempowering the citizen who is abandoned to the capriciousness of the cosmos.

The process of depoliticization is one of the most formidable and well integrated discourses disclosed from within the sources reviewed. The use of the chance hypothesis is one mechanism of neutralization, but not the only one. What these techniques all have in common, however, is the abstention of political efficacy as a resource. Applied to the ideals of scarcity these explanations nullify admonitions of culpability. The South, when it is mentioned, is poor because it is underdeveloped, or is underdeveloped because it is poor, or both, lacking adequate deposits of natural resources or honest leadership. A Changing World claims that "some countries have few natural resources but a large supply of cheap labour" (Couture, et al. 1991: 86). This is a auspicious break indeed!

Ideologies reveals that "poverty tends to create poverty", and that "in general ... developing countries are poor" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 457). The text also lists "rising inflation, rising populations, over borrowing, low education levels, one crop economies and no incentive to save money," as contributing factors (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 458). Are these causes or symptoms of the condition? The text claims that "some economists suggest that "Third World" countries must find their own unique economic solutions" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 458). Conveniently, the North is relieved of obligatory responsibility, relative to both cause and cure.

Ideologies acknowledges that abuses exist, claiming that "many examples point to multinational corporations taking seemingly deliberate advantage of less developed countries" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 469). The corporations are described as independent "outgrowths of capitalism, socialism and Marxism - the major ideologies of the modern world" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 469). But the text chooses to label the corruption as ideological in nature, effectively sanitizing the issue. The roles of the specific actors responsible seems an unpublishable redundancy. Given an opportunity to tie in the actions of the trans-nationals with the forces behind them, the text balks. Trans-nationals are legitimated extensions of individual life choices, supported, for the most part, by democratically elected administrations, often militarily. Should not the student be informed of his/her contribution?

In the North, the poor must endure a different form of depoliticization, they do not exist. Mimicking a discourse in A Changing World, reviewed earlier, the Ideologies text suggests that absolute poverty is not a problem in Canada, as compared to "Third World" countries like India, Brazil, Haiti and Nigeria. The text claims that:

> "Canadians whom we describe as poor live infinitely better than the vast majority of people in the "Third World" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 430).

Poverty is proclaimed to result from a combination of poor skills and poor education, with the text projecting that " in theory, those who contribute the most to what society deems essential will earn the most money" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 429). Once again both fate and the victim are blamed. The problem cannot be considered a systemic one. Ironically, education continues to be proselytized as a vehicle of social mobility, despite an extremely skeptical correlation between the two when other factors like family history or socio-economic class are considered. In some societies in the South, regressions ran between quantities of agricultural output and formal education have actually produced negative correlations (Lockheed, et al. 1980).

Ideologies, however, claims that "Motorola, an electronics firm, estimated that it costs a North American company $200 dollars to train a semi skilled worker, whereas a Japanese firm will spend only forty seven cents" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 435). From this is one to construe that education increases productivity, or speculate that Motorola wants the government to further subsidize their operation by foregoing curricula which does not boost the profits of private industry? Theories advocating human capital as the answer to underdevelopment or poverty only serve as smoke screens to more viable answers which focus on excessive power differentials resulting in economic opportunism.

A Changing World acknowledges that excess disparity need not occur, at least in reference to misallocation of the planet's food reserves. But the text then asks the reader if she is willing to sacrifice conventional dietary items, ie. hamburgers, for a more resource efficient food source (Couture, et al. 1991). By pursuing a false dilemma the text avoids a discussion of the issue at a more serious level, one which Susan George does not, writing:

> Taking the individual meat-eater to task for starving his brethren is on about the same intellectual plane as, 'think of the hungry children in India, darling and finish your lovely peas and carrots' (George, 1986: 25).

A Changing World skirts the point completely. In a world where economic decisions are made in the material and political interests of the powerful, where price fixing and food dumping become a way of life, the recitation of such pettiness seems inadequate.

By exchanging causes for symptoms, texts desensitize system wide abuses while maintaining an empathetic decorum. There is not a more effective means of propaganda. Consider the following discourse published in the textbook Citizenship:

> If a society wishes to lower its crime rate, schools might educate students about ways to reduce crime; the legal system might punish criminals more harshly; and the government might spend more money on law enforcement, public education and the rehabilitation of criminals (Christison, et al. 1991: 17).

An attempt is not made here to discover what structural factors intensify criminal activity, or even why particular practices are considered criminal and demanding of punishment (see, Nietzsche, on punishment, 1956), while others are not? The emphasis focuses on social retribution, while conveniently ignoring many pertinent questions, and ultimately, the issue of cause as a historical product.

Depoliticization is also a process of reification. For Citizenship, a society participates in the consistent grouping of associations, concentric circles building organic structures of community which are fulfilled at the level of the nation state. Decisions are validated at distinct and separate conceptual levels, in specifically determinate spheres, ie. political, economic (Christison, et al. 1991: 35). In this world, power is factionalized, authority decentralized, accountability etherealized and personal efficacy dismantled. Factoring conditions of compartmentalization these texts articulates a formidable web of deception (eg., see Couture, et al. 1991: 4, Christison, et al. 1991: 4, Baldwin, et al. 1992: 22).

In situations where other forms of depolitiziation are ineffective textual argument often uses the past as a means of isolation. Ideologies claims that "today, governments place more importance on curbing economic and social inequalities" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 38). The text asks the reader to "explain why very little was done in the nineteenth century to prevent poverty" (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 307). The source claims:

> The early forms of capitalism created extreme income inequity and deplorable living conditions (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 339).
>
> Unfortunately, unrestricted competition among individuals struggling for the highest possible profits often created poverty, dangerous working conditions, and unhealthy accommodations for the victims of capitalism. It was largely to improve these

> conditions that governments intervened in the capitalist economies (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 413).

A Changing World concurs, stating that in the early days of capitalism the "rich really did get richer and the poor did get poorer" (Couture, et al. 1991: 119). Implied, or stated, in all of these discourses is the notion of change and amelioration. Ignored are presumably insignificant suppositions. Firstly, while the face of capitalism may have changed, the basic relationship still exists between those in positions of power and those who are not. Immiseration is now exported abroad to the disadvantaged more often than before, and the complexity of the mechanisms of exchange has increased, however, the ethic, or lack there of, remains intact. Secondly, although it remains speculative as to why capitalism seemingly developed a social conscience, at least at home, it did not grow out of government or corporate goodwill. The fear by many of serious and irreversible structural change, as manifested through grass root dissension, is a possible explanation. The postulate that technological breakthroughs in the twentieth century opened up greener and less resistant pastures to exploit, is probably a better one. Regardless, all explanations are reductive if not historically grounded.

Depoliticization, transcends the issues to which it is applied, it disempowers actors to address and redress abuses of power. It is essential that discourses acknowledge scarcity as something politically defined, and maintained as imbalances in power. The texts fall disappointingly short here. But given this knowledge, change cannot occur if not acted upon. Development must occur, encapsulating the spirit of political action.

CHAPTER 5 - DEVELOPMENT

Development can be construed to mean many things, and is. Frequently, shifting conceptual parameters defies the use of the term without significant equivocation, despite its acceptance as a common reference. By identifying development within a textual context with specific symbolic connotations, correlation become less mystifying. However, these discourse associations, while maintainable, are done so at the expense of alternative perspectives. Interpretation, thus, remains a tenuous and contentious, issue.

In the five Alberta grade twelve social studies texts reviewed (see Chapter one, p. 5), development is often interpreted as an act of progression and accredited as such. Advancements are primarily commensurate with linear economic growth, an apparent prerequisite in the human's insatiable appetite to consume. Here the "good life" is synonymous with consumption, with the successful society providing commodities in both variety and plenitude. “Developed” societies are, therefore, societies which have provided the necessary resources and initiative to bolster material well being. Betterments in education, technology and physical infrastructure, while represented as agents of development, cannot, however, be construed as developments in themselves. The teleology here remains contingent upon an agent’s affinity to the growth paradigm.

But is the growth paradigm a required discourse in underwriting a developmental protocol? Alternative perspectives do exist, some, in appearance, contradictory.

Understanding development as a political act is tantamount to understanding textual direction both in strategic and ideological terms. Development is as much an issue of the discursive text as of its content, involving often unseen relationships in power. To examine development as a product of textual advocacy without responding to its role in the emancipation or enslavement of the reader, is to ignore the interactive processes of power in the construction of identity.

For Foucault, power "is a mode of action which does not act directly and immediately on others... (but) instead it acts upon their actions... on existing actions and on those which may arise in the present or the future" (Marshall, 1989: 104). Within the disciplinary context in which a reader consumes and retains textual information, power influences the identity of a body, or more accurately identity as a sequence of actions. In this context the power is non-repressive but lies within the specific discipline of the environment:

> In the disciplines, there are found certain views of the individual as a moral agent, sexual being, learner, or whatever. In the normalizing procedures of examination and confession, people are classified as objects and the truth about themselves revealed to themselves. In constituting the subject in these ways, modern power produces governable individuals (Marshall, 1989: 111).

The problem of recognizing when and where modern power is being exercised is a refinement which remains uncompleted in Foucault's philosophy. What is clear, however, is the need for agency in its deconstruction. Development must, firstly, be recognized as that which generates new methodologies of self awareness. For Freire, "reading the world always precedes reading the word, and reading the word always implies reading the world" (Freire, 1983: 10). Physical development is thus preceded by social development or the advancement concurrent with an actor's growing awareness of his/her physical world, and more importantly, world view. The interaction between text and person must then instill awareness and not fragment it. The fragmentation of knowledge spheres into internalized disciplines does little in furthering the developmental process, as:

> Fragmented knowledge and learning may be very effective to produce fragmented learners who as a result do not question the process, content and structure of that learning as a mirror of the world for which it is preparing them (Burns, 1988: 118).

To encourage actions which utilize power positively, a text must abstain from excessive compartmentalization of knowledge forms which objectify human realities, disempowering the reader. Here, learning represents the transmission of static knowledge forms, discouraging development in the individual. If the texts reviewed are underwritten by this form of power they cannot act as liberating sources. It must be determined as to whether the reader is encouraged to see development as a series of multifarious events socially directed and reinforced, or as merely a knowledge concept, fragmented and absolute. Does the text encourage a singularity of perspectives, or is knowledge generated, maintained and adapted by the reader?

While "modern power" represents and alerts one to a different reality view, one existing at the micro-level investing the body at the level of everyday life, power must also be recognized as a commodity exchanged between bodies. Power is often manifested as a mechanism of political domination and oppression affecting human development in coercive ways. Students, therefore, while arming themselves against insidious power infecting the body at the unconscious level, must also confront power which is overtly political. Development can involve open confrontations between opposing forces, and will always foster advocacy, or the conscious choice of one ideal over another. Discourses which depoliticize, or evade this reality are delimiting, either in denying that overt power differentials exist in and between societies, or proposing that these differentials are entrenched, structurally maintained and reproduced, denying the actor the avenue of resistance (see Apple, 1979), which is of itself, the manifestation of emancipatory power:

> the principles governing the organization, distribution, and evaluation of knowledge are not absolute and objective; instead they are socio-historical constructs forged by active human beings creating rather than simply existing in the world (Giroux and Penna, 1979: 24).

> People make commitments to the discourses in which they participate. They believe in the validity and rightness of how to proceed. This is an ideological dimension of discourse (Cherryholmes, 1983: 345).

Cherryholmes suggests that the lack of integration between the "social and linguistic" offers the actor the opportunity to "break out" of specific discursive practices. Positive development places the reader within the social context of the discourse, delegating reader accountability and responsibility. The process of resistance, or political advocacy demands that reader's passivity be denied. If discourse is internalized simply as fragments of knowledge, then advocacy is deferred. The application is the same whether addressing power as a player in the production of the text itself, or the artificer of a discourse, within the text. An excellent example exists in the distinctions that Singer places regarding the discourses surrounding the concepts of "charity" and "duty" (see Singer in Perry and Bratman, 1986), as discussed later in this text. How a reader views or understands these discourses profoundly affects that person's ability or desire to act. Is the reader invited by the text to make developmental decisions, even if that choice exists in contradiction to a textually recognized and legitimated discourse?

The conscious choice to promote societal change as the necessary product of a particular paradigm, ie. "growth", is a developmental decision. The blind acceptance of the same paradigm as a developmental product, is not. If a reader is mislead, or misinformed, silenced, or patronized, that individual's ability to make autonomous decisions influencing future actions is affected. Cherryholmes acknowledges this recognizing the symbiotic relationship between "knowledge, power, and discourse" claiming:

> The most widespread discursive practices omit references to social injustice, inequality, social and political oppression , and social conflict. Textbooks attend to the presentation of women and minorities in a much more balanced way than before but explicit treatments of the issues of sexism and racism are still rare (Cherryholmes, 1983: 355).

The use of inclusive language and certain techniques of gender neutralization in a text can quite conceivably lead the reader to believe that "sexism" need no longer be considered a political issue. But as Hahn and Blankenship claim:

> A woman still makes only 59 cents for every dollar made by a man and most households below the poverty level are headed by women. The concentration of women in low-paying, traditional female occupations and the impact of government programs on women are issues which ... students should consider (Hahn and Blankenship, 1983).

The reader may be led myopically away from engaging more significant discourses demanding review. Substantive issues surrounding the construction and maintenance of social class are consistently whitewashed as difference is purported to hinge on conditioning factors like education level or ability, ie. A Changing World targets negative ideology as the causal component in the "streaming" of students in the public educational system (Couture, et al. 1991:21), with the same text, without qualification, regarding education as possibly the most important factor determining a person's income (Couture, et al. 1991: 179). Through the fabrication of the "citizenship" ethos, a text may focus discursive energies on the marketing of concepts such as "pluralism" or "liberalism", avoiding a more politically directed discourse. Macpherson, however, does not:

> In essence, while "late capitalist society" does have some measure of pluralism, the amount of it has been greatly exaggerated, and its character has changed markedly as both the corporate managed and state-owned sectors have increasingly gained power over our lives (Apple, 1986: 10).

The myth of the North American, presiding as a relatively class free example of egalitarianism and hard work, is not only inaccurate, but dangerous. Thurow writes in The Zero Sum Society:

> No one inherited more wealth than we. We are not the little poor boy who worked his way to the top, but the little rich boy who inherited a vast fortune (Thurow in Romanish, 1983: 8).

Distortion, as contoured around over coded or pre-formatted world views, enunciates a greater need for political efficacy. Texts which address development as proactive can ultimately challenge the reader to shoulder a more responsible application in effecting change. Conversely, if the student is presented with a top-down model of development, advocating participation without politicization, blaming the victim while ignoring enormous indiscretions of power and exchanging an ethic of justice for one of pity, then development as a politic will be conclusively effaced. Regardless of intention, the use of the term itself remains political.

DEVELOPMENT AS CODE

As a reflection of the texts reviewed, development is seldom reconciled within the basic political tangents of personal efficacy and empowerment. A derivation of meaning which by its constitution should underwrite a process, development is often over coded and objectified to represent specific adaptations or rearrangements of social reality. The objective is not to politically entreat a reader with the responsibility of affecting future living environments, but to enculturate the student within a specific ideology, or understanding of how the world should be, with significant attention directed towards the principles of economic growth. Whether, or not, these principles fashion a particular ethical temperament, or are sustainable in the long term, seems somehow irrelevant.

The term development, thus, articulates a specific method of interpreting and acting upon one's global surroundings. This understanding is not, by necessity, commensurate with an individual's quality of life, but instead that person's quantity of life. The "growth" paradigm, here, plays an integral part in this fabrication. Human suffering, indigency, patriarchy, environmental degradation, torture, genocide and war can only be redressed within the constraints of this greater paradigm. Poverty is something a society can not afford not to have. Aid is seen as charity despite its prescriptive ability to redistribute wealth from the poor of one nation to the rich in another. Institutions such as the United Nations (UN), and the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are represented as philanthropic organizations, albeit more than the West can afford at this particular time.

To maintain this deception a text must subscribe to a singularity of perspective, imploring several binding assumptions which draw upon commonplace Western interpretations of social realities. Firstly, the issue of ownership, and the rights involving the same, cannot be in dispute. The wealthy must honestly believe that, what they are in possession of, is their own and that they are under no obligation to surrender even a part of it. The transferal of resources from the rich to the poor then can be interpreted as an act of aid, or charity and not an act of duty, involving redistribution as a principle of development. Peter Singer disagrees writing:

> It is not beyond the capacity of the richer nations to give enough assistance to reduce any further suffering to very small proportions... Unfortunately human beings have not made the necessary decisions (Singer in Perry and Bratman, 1986: 229).

For Singer " if it is in our power to prevent something bad from happening, without thereby sacrificing anything of comparable moral importance, then we ought, morally, to do it" (Singer, 1986: 230). Here the ideals inherent in the concept of "charity" are exchanged for those of "duty" and regulated in utilitarian fashion. Whether one makes the decision to give to the point of "marginal utility" is an issue involving further discussion, but for Singer, the duty to give remains intact as a moral prescript. Singer's argument, however, must be ignored if the "aid" prescript is to be employed.

In reevaluating these parameters a text might be hard pressed to explain the origin of the wealth in the first place, as the question of ownership is a "sticky wicket" indeed. But the realities of both "development" and "underdevelopment" as historically determined forces cannot be in dispute, with texts generally avoiding any disclosure with regard to culpability. Relevant historical information relating to the issues of foreign debt, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and foreign interventionism become irrelevant. The oppression of many of the world's indigenous people at the hands of controlling governments cease to exist. The lifestyles of the advantaged must be interpreted as the collective products of hard work, initiative, technology, or even serendipity, but never extortion.

Secondly, the decision to "develop" must be viewed as a legitimate. Beliefs concerning the choice of what, or who, to develop and why, involves the employment of transcendentally signified postulates about the universe, and humanity's' place in it. The knowledge that one is indeed acting in the interests of someone else, or at least doing the right thing, even if an action involves the displacement, or the effacement of the other, is a requirement which draws on a particularized ontological and philosophical position. The "development" of the African continent can, therefore, be viewed as generally a good thing, despite the unprecedented successes of the West in initiating widespread social and political disruption, human exploitation, famine, drought and desertification (see O'Callaghan, 1987: 200-202, Baldwin, et al. 1992: 269 and 444, Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 151). By sanctioning all of the world's resources as their own to covet, or employ for self serving devices, "have" nations define development within their own terms. The procurement and use of "aid" moneys is one example. Hancock writes:

> In that notorious club of parasites and hangers-on made up of the United Nations, the World Bank and the bilateral agencies, it is aid - and nothing else - that has provided hundreds of thousands of 'job's for the boys' and that has permitted record-breaking standards to be set in self-serving behaviour, arrogance, paternalism, moral cowardice and mendacity. At the same time, in developing countries, aid has perpetuated the rule of incompetent and venal men whose leadership would otherwise be utterly non-viable; it has allowed governments characterised by historic ignorance, avarice and irresponsibility to thrive ...it has condoned - and in some cases facilitated - the most consistent and grievous abuses of human rights that have occurred anywhere in the world since the dark ages (Hancock, 1989: 193).

"Development" becomes a process of validation, anchored in the concept of identity and "citizenship". It involves the superimposition of one's world onto another. The status quo is reproduced, political efficacy is enveloped by ideology.

Thirdly, a convincing model of "development", hinges upon the clarification of its binary opposite, the "undeveloped", or commonly referenced as "underdevelopment". It is not sufficient to possess wealth and believe in the rightness of one's crusade. One must be "developed" in reference to somebody else. In these texts, this party is compiled of the world's hapless and indigent, primarily located in the "Third World", but also constituents of the "Fourth" and "Second". In paternalistic fashion, those who are considered "underdeveloped" are committed to learn from those who are "developed".

In Jomo Kenyatta's short story The Gentlemen of the Jungle, it is the decision of the "developed" animals, ie. Mr. Elephant, Mr. Lion, and Mr. Rhinoceros, to evict the "Man" from his home. This is decreed so as it is determined, through civil techniques, that it is the duty of the developed "to turn the undeveloped space to a more economic use", viz. using the hut themselves (Kenyatta in Achebe and Innes, 1985: 38). "Underdevelopment" is viewed as a liability, a malady of sorts, which must be eliminated.

Unfortunately the "developed" can consume entire societies and the accompanying cultures in the process of "development", often leaving behind only tokenistic symbols of Westernization, along with entrenched class structures, rapid urbanization, debt and political instability as a reward for a nation's cooperation. Within the Western jurisdiction proper, "development" is usually synonymous with segregation. For the "Man" in Kenyetta's story, "development" translates to the loss of his hut to the larger and more powerful animals who can better utilize the existing space (Kenyatta in Achebe and Innes, 1985: 38). "Underdevelopment", therefore, proves to be a liability after all.

UNDERDEVELOPMENT:

The most galvanizing testimony to the polarization of the "haves" and "have nots" of this planet, as reviewed in the sources, does not evolve as a discursive discourse, but as the product of exclusion. By literally ignoring a segment of the global population these texts reproduce lived configuration of power, as discourse. A Changing World and Citizenship ignore these groups almost entirely, while Global Forces of the Twentieth Century includes minor case studies as erected at the axis where Western interests intersect with the "Third World", or the destitute. The disease of powerlessness underwrites the state of indigency that many must confront within the realms of their lived environments.

The excluded are difficult to categorize in conventionally recognized conceptual terms. They do not subscribe to any specific demographic or geography, although the "have nots" are certainly over represented in the southern regions of the planet. What they have in common is their exclusion. In the South these people, when acknowledged, are often pitied, victims of hard luck or draconian leadership. In the

West, their identity is less often revealed, existing as contradictions to a dominant ideology.

In these texts, the majority of the world's population is simply and efficiently ignored. They do not exist. What does exist and is familiarized to the reader, upon necessity, is the world's "underdeveloped". This group exists as a ethnically diverse objectified montage, poor, politically unstable and ignorant. They do not play, enter into relationships, or raise families, in the ways that the "developed subject" does. They starve, wage war, are often mislead into supporting radical left wing ventures and overpopulate. The Influenza epidemic, as reviewed in Global Forces of the Twentieth Century, provides a suitable example, as a discourse dedicated exclusively to the events and interests afflicting the North, is replaced briefly by another. This discourse becomes global in dimension, announcing that 27,000,000 people died in the Influenza epidemic, the majority residents of Africa, India and China (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 21).

As human beings the "underdeveloped" lives an invisible existence. As martyred testimonials to Western sanctioned extreme and often bellicose abuses of power, they occupy no existence at all. Even when the abuses are initiated from within the same nation state.

While South Africa's past atrocities, concerning race and privilege within its borders, are well documented, racism and class privilege elsewhere are not. There are no discourses reviewing similarities which exist between the South African "anomaly", and the United States, Israel, Indonesia, Canada, or any many other population belligerent to indigenous peoples residing within the circumscribed perimeters of the modern nation state.

The victims of sexism are also granted the status of "persona non grata", unless the abuses can be tied to a contrasting ideology and/or contributed to the thematic exposition of hard luck and deprivation. A Changing World lists women as a research category in its index, with five selections listed (Couture, et al. 1991:202). For these texts, despite the use of inclusive language, the gendered existence of women is a well guarded secret.

The "underdeveloped" occupies the latent and often ignored recesses of a collective conscience predisposed to self absorption and consumption. A Changing World drawing on this pastiche of conflicting discourses advise the reader:

> If you oppose killing animals ... you might choose to a less expensive coat and send the money to help people in the Third World (Couture, et al. 1991: 87).

The intention inherent in giving aid to an individual someplace else who is not as fortunate as those who are, exists symbolically as one discourse among many in the ideological handbag of Western idealism. Unfortunately, the text advocates one position while pursuing another. Structural violence is not introduced as a concept. The absurdity of promoting nominal charity while advancing a system which oppresses and under develops societies, many of which maintaining a level of prosperity for millennia preceding intervention, is the analogous equivalent of denouncing the killing of farmed animals in a society while pursuing a chosen lifestyle which convincingly continues to eradicate entire species from the planet.

But the "underdeveloped" are confronted with more than a rhetoric of exclusion, the alternative, "development", comes with a price tag, usually associated with serving the economic and political interests of the West. "Development" is not driven by deeper moral beliefs in justice or egalitarianism. The shifting demarcations of right and wrong are anchored in a self righteous paternalism which willingly differentiates between the idealized worlds of the "developed" and the "undeveloped". Global Forces of the Twentieth Century asks the question, "what place does individual freedom have in a nation such as China, which contains a quarter of the world's population" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991)? The text does not discursively answer its own question. Is over population singularly the most important factor here ?

In a profile of the Ivory Coast, the textbook Ideologies paints the African nation as a "Third World" success story, quoting significant economic expansion as relevant indication. The text congratulates the small country's prosperity. Working in synchronization with the industrialized West, the Ivory Coast is credited with the highest GNP of 16 surveyed African nations. Ironically, the data published in an accompanying table places the Ivory Coast far down the surveyed list in the categories of life expectancy, 53 years, and infant mortality, 9.6 percent (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 310). Unfortunately, economic growth and aggregate quality of life are often poorly correlated.

The decisions to ameliorate lifestyles hinges on the political thrust to develop people instead of resources. That is not to say that significant lifestyle improvement does not often accompany economic growth. But it is to claim that it is not a necessary product of it. It is within the boundaries of reason to conceive of a situation where those possessing the necessary power, either coercively, or through more subtle hegemonic mechanisms, could extract almost all of the economic and social gain from an expanding society (see Thomas, 1984). Historically this has often been the outcome.

The move by the authorship to marry a society's success with economic growth is not only irresponsible, it is extremely short sighted. Aggregate economic growth is not development, even if development sometimes accompanies growth. Experiencing a higher level of colonial penetration than neighbouring Tanzania, and drawing upon a well defined bourgeois class structure, unfettered by developed political institutions, Kenya has accepted a neo-colonial role in the world marketplace and experienced successes in economic expansion vastly outstripping most other East African states. But despite the pressures to be otherwise, Kenya has remained, a politically factionized nation, devoid of mass participation, with large economic and social disparities in both the state and the civil society (Brown, 1993: 18).

Conversely, Tanzania stands as testimony to the precept that the decision to advance quality of life is not a guarantee of economic prosperity. Increases in the quality of life may involve a will to develop, but it is not a mechanistic reflection of a society's GNP. The resulting changes which succeeded the Arusha Declaration (1967), in Tanzania, included an illiteracy rate of 9.6 percent (Sumra, et al. 1990: 708), reductions in income disparity, and a significant increase in life expectancy. But despite the endeavor to transform as a society, followed by the latter decision (prompted by the intervention from the IMF) to do otherwise, Tanzania remains one of the poorest nations on earth.

Human Capitalists have determined that the decision to affect economic growth through the development of human resources, ie. education, is only effective if a society is under "modernizing conditions" (Lockheed, et al. 1980). What this means is that the classic "underdeveloped" nation stands to gain little, in economic terms, from aggressive education schemes, despite the willingness of these texts to suggest that "underdevelopment" is the direct product of a education deficiency. Global Forces of the Twentieth Century reports that in the Congo:

> No provisions had been made to prepare the 14 million Congolese for political freedom. Only 30 Congolese were university graduates (Mitchner, and Tuffs, 1991: 151).

Is the student expected to blame the instability of the post colonial Congo on a deficiency in university degrees? What affect does generations of exploitation and oppression have on a society?

Interestingly, "underdevelopment" in the "First World", when recognized, also hinges upon a society's inability to educate its population properly. As discussed in the last chapter, Japan's economic successes are partially attributed to an efficient, formal education program. "Ignorance" is often viewed as the artificer of poverty (see chapter on scarcity). However, attempts to create a better educated "smarter" society have not resulted in any meaningful decline in indigency. Conversely, externalities created through credential inflation have resulted in overqualified applicants accepting jobs further down on the occupational ladder (Thurlow in Karabel and Halsey, 1977: 327). Industrial demands or societal structures remain unaltered by the "new found" freedom of the "smarter applicant", particularly given the inherent tendencies in a "bureaucratic society" to reproduce low ability collective pools of skills and knowledge in the mainstream to service the controlling oligarchy (Brown and Lauder, 1992: 5). While education expansion in the West has effectively created a functional and malleable working class, the rigidities and inequalities which exist in the societies themselves have not diminished. Educational structures within the West are not, and have never been, motivated out of a deeper societal calling to create a more equitable and just human network. Can one assert that such strategies should work elsewhere?

Overpopulation is another popular explanation for "underdevelopment". China's population is always reflected upon as a huge liability, despite the nation's mandate to meet the nutritional needs of all, a claim which the United States can not make. In India, one reason given for their poverty in the past, "was the growing number of people... Every year the country had 5 million more... extra mouths (which) ate up all the extra food from the farms" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 304). The blame for a nations inability to feed its own people is placed soundly back on the people themselves. There is no questioning here of the class divisions, within the greater Indian society, which rewards entire populations, or even states, while impoverishing others (see Kohli, 1987). The state of Kerala has endured constant pressure by the Indian administrations to abandon its egalitarian values (Franke and Chasin, 1989). The Congress party is instead congratulated for its desire to modernize, while Gandhi is admonished for advocating a different vision of India.

The text, A History of the Twentieth Century juxtapositions two vignettes of contemporary India, one, a modern concrete nuclear reactor, the other, a congested village, complete with livestock. Bhagyanagar is said to have no electricity, and no running water (O'Callaghan, 1987: 307). The text pursues a discourse advocating modernization, celebrating the past successes of Nehru's five year plans. Ironically, the Soviet and Chinese are highly criticized for abuses generated from their attempts to modernize, ie. see "Chernobyl Disaster", Mitchner and Tuffs: 278. The Congress party escapes this form of condemnation, despite a well deserved reputation (see Kohli, 1987). There is no discourse contextualizing what these modernization schemes actually mean for the majority in "developing" nations. It is perfectly conceivable to envision a photograph with both of the above mentioned images occurring, side by side, as formalities in time and space. In the South, electricity is often generated in the country side and transported to the cities above the heads of those which receive nothing but the risks, ie. injury incurred through an industrial mishap.

Curiously, the question is never asked, how can a low percentage change in a country's population from one year to the next result in a famine? The possibility that resources are either being hoarded, and/ or a huge deficit exists already, is denied through silence. The New Internationalist makes the claim that five-sixths of the planets resources are used by the approximately one billion people in the North, while the four-and-a-half billion inhabitants of the South consume only one-sixth of the same (New Internationalist, September, 1992: 6). The issue is not solely one of overpopulation.

The over reliance on one industry economies is viewed as another complication in the bid by the "Third World" to "modernize". A History of the Twentieth Century asks the reader to review a published transcription denoting the effectiveness of "Latin America" as an exporter. The text asks:

> What terms would you use to describe the types of exports from Latin America? What problems are met by countries which depend heavily on such exports... Give two ways in which you think the table helps to explain why living standards in Latin America are lower than in the USA or UK (O'Callaghan, 1987: 143)?

For this text, the region's over reliance on agricultural cash crops has severely curtailed its ability to compete in the world marketplace. But this particular structural configuration carries a signifying value far greater than that evoked through this discourse. Societies do not choose dependency as a marketing strategy, although elite sectors will often capitalize on an opportunity to derive material advantage on the backs of the poor. Peasant classes do not always voluntarily produce an agricultural product with little nutritional value, leaving them reliant upon fluctuating foreign markets, manipulated, like marionettes, from the latitudes above.

For these sources, "development", is viewed as a linear highway leading onwards. It is the responsibility of those who have completed the journey to paternally assist those who are not so fortunate.

PITY, PATERNALISM, IMPERIALISM, AND EXPLOITATION:

If the "underdeveloped" is a hapless individual, he/she is also subject to contagion's of social violence and political instability not present amongst the "developed" rank and file. The texts recognize that these occurrences are not the direct result of an innately transmitted pathology on the part of the perpetrators, and at times acknowledging that these conditions are symptomatic of a greater malady. A History of the Twentieth Century notes that instability in "Latin America" can often be attributed to the many problems which these people experience, claiming that if one adds foreign debt to " their other problems - the desperate poverty of so many people, a rapidly increasing population needing jobs and food and rocketing prices, you have plenty of ingredients for political troubles" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 143). The text goes as far as to identify certain "multi-nationals" as culpable by draining the region through profit taking.

Also recognized is the historical nature of US intervention in the region. Yet the text never connects the dots in an image remaining conceptually disjointed. The object of the discourse is not to label the North as villains demanding that each individual reading the text accept partial responsibility for the misery of others. The task is in truth to conceal this “other” perspective from surfacing. There is not an attempt made here to demarcate the parameters of what has become known to some as "structural violence" (see George, 1986 and 1994, Hancock, 1989, Lernoux, 1991, Torrie, 1983). There is no connection made which could better circumscribe the net workings of power as it affects many of the world's people. The textbook Ideologies , as noted earlier, also contains discourses which isolates specific corporate and political associations, claiming their excesses to be detrimental. But, again, the discourses remain segregated, sporadic and understated. The pattern is never disclosed, nor can be. Robert Lekachman comments:

> Skillful propaganda displays a certain sensitivity to opposing views, an ingratiating readiness to concede a minor dereliction here and there, and an intimation of awareness that the world is a complicated planet (Lekachman in Romanish, 1983: 80).

It might be argued that the intention here by the authorship is not one of propagation, that there is no intent here to mislead and that many of these published discourses are simply reflections of a preexisting world view prevalent within Western society. However, structural violence is not only perpetrated by certain trans-nationals, or overzealous administrations. Abuse is endemic, responsibility ubiquitous, the conditions which underwrite enormous power differentials, and resource disparity are general. The most innocuous, or even benevolent appearing discourse can manipulate, desensitize, or disingenuate. A discourse celebrating the rising popularity of "food banks", as mechanisms of redistribution, can mask other discourses, ie. reviewing the issues behind “privatization”. Some might advocate that feeding the indigent in a society is a responsibility belonging to the collective.

In The History of the Twentieth Century it becomes apparent that the generated discourse focuses more on political instability than Western oppression. The text consolidates its position, claiming that instead of uniting, the "Latin American" states formed a "string of separate states, each with its own rulers" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 144). Instability has apparently been the result, although the text does not elaborate specifically as to why this is. The source does credit the topography as partially responsible in predetermining this form of political factionism. But the presence of mountains along a nations borders can hardly be targeted as an incubation factor, producing a volatile political environment . The text exclaims, "mention 'Latin America' and many people think of revolutions and governments being overthrown by force" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 144). The peasants are, however, said to be driven towards left-wing administrations as specific abuses by controlling factions has resulted in social unrest and disenchantment. The implication here is that the peasants are given the opportunity to exercise an autonomous choice, albeit their decision to back left-wing administrations is conditioned by desperation. Alternative directions leading to land reforms, "food for all" programs, better education and health care, or the nationalization of the obtrusive trans-nationals, evidently, are not a consideration for those citizens who exercise the opportunity of choice, either through suffrage, or some other forms of social movement.

Citizenship asks, "should people be more concerned about gaining control of their lives in order to feed and clothe themselves, than about fears of communism" (Christison, et al. 1991: 102)? This comment is generated as a reply to a perceived need by the Reagan administration to neutralize the "communist" threat in Nicaragua. The appeal is one of pity for a people plagued by civil war. In an act of generosity, and despite the ideological need to eradicate communism in Central America, the text is willing to say, enough is enough. There is nothing here that directly condemns the US involvement in the dispute. The historical preambles to the dispute, the widespread support that Sandinistas had among the peasantry, the openness of the election which brought Ortega to power are all, apparently, ignored. The evidently insignificant matter that a foreign administration hired a mercenary army to invade a nation with a democratically elected leadership, is not reviewed. Chomsky writes, during the height of the events that lead to an escalation in US intervention:

> We're ... conducting a real war against Nicaragua through a mercenary army. They're called "guerrillas" in the press, but they're nothing like any guerrilla army that's ever existed. They're armed at the level of a Central American army. They often outgun the Nicaraguan army. They're completely supplied and controlled by a foreign power. They have very limited indigenous support, as far as anybody knows. It's a foreign mercenary army attacking Nicaragua, using Nicaraguan soldiers, as often the case in imperial wars (Chomsky, 1992: 6).

In the majority of cases the US is condoned for its activities in Nicaragua. Global Forces of the Twentieth Century claims:

> Now that a non-communist government has taken power in Nicaragua, there is some hope that the supply of Cuban arms through Nicaragua will cease and stability will return to the area (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 269).

The text considers Nicaragua's importance as strategic, another geopolitical staging ground for superpower confrontation stating:

> Nicaragua's location in the American sphere of influence outweighed the Soviet Union's wish to limit its own involvement in the area lest it provoke the USA (Mitchner and Tuffs, 273).

A war in Nicaragua is perceived as a necessary evil by this text, to rid Central America of communist incursion. The text claims that Chamorro inherited a country devastated by 10 years of Sandanista rule (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 271), as "the defeat of the Sandanista regime removed one of the most destabilizing factors in Central America (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 272). Chamorro is seen as a liberator, rather than a political "wing nut", figure heading a puppet state. The horrors of the invasion are whitewashed. Global Forces of the Twentieth Century claims:

> Be it resolved that American involvement in Central America was essential to the preservation of American security (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 274).

The significance of US intervention and aggression in Guatemala, El Salvador, Chile, Grenada, Panama, Libya, Laos, and Cambodia is also scorned by these sources, either as events which are delegitimated through exclusion, or decontextualized in biased review. In Global Forces of the Twentieth Century, the Grenada invasion, while not overtly supported, is quietly validated. The military action is said to have occurred "supposedly to protect American medical students", although "carried out with strict censorship of the press" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 267).

US complicity in the slaughter of one-third of the population of East Timor goes unreported. The New Internationalist carries this report:

> The invasion has been set down for 5 December; but the Americans demanded that the Indonesians wait until after the President had left; and on 7 December, as Air Force One climbed out of Indonesian airspace, the blood bath began (New Internationalist, March 1994: 6).

The decision by Great Britain to continue to supply Indonesia with jet fighters, or the acquiescence of other Western and non-Western nations, Canada included, while 200 thousand people ceased to exist, is also apparently too trivial a correspondence to convey.

Imperialism is seen as the simple misdirections of a bygone era. When abuses are reported, it is usually in the form of third-person here-say:

> After the killings in Amritsan, many Indians saw their British rulers as brutal tyrants, never to be trusted again (O'Callaghan, 1987: 225).

One should also factor in that criticisms like this are rare, if addressed at all, and most frequently not within the context of the flowing discursive text, as separate compartmented reviews are utilized, setting criticisms apart from the text, ie. case studies. Potentially challenging discourses, with regard to the "object", are thus circumvented in a syntagmatic move to maintain coherency. The "other" is effectively squelched, a distant ripple in the stream of authorial sanctioned discourse.

"Vietnam", while slowly slipping into an era belonging to the past, cannot as yet be openly discussed. The historic events which mark its infamy continue as bench marks of Western disgrace, symbolic in a gravity which survives to embarrass administrations and constituents alike. The sources, therefore, can not "speak candidly" about the Vietnam morass, and do not. The Vietnam invasion remains a well kept secret, a testimony to the notion that even at its most horrific levels, totalitarian power cannot always suppress human resistance.

Most of the texts' focus on the Vietnam tragedy is insignificant. Global Forces of the Twentieth Century is an exception here. The text claims that to understand the events affecting south-east Asia at this time, one must look to the excesses of nationalism as an ideology. Nationalism is said to have been "running rampant amongst Asian peoples, and was too strong to be controlled (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 237). The source claims that "the readiness with which Nationalist leaders were able to exploit the situation led to major conflicts" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 237). The text chastises South Vietnam for refusing to meet the agreements of the 1954 "nine-power conference". The Diem administration is condemned for its various abuses and the instability affecting the South is attributed to Soviet and Chinese interference.

American involvement is viewed as unavoidable, given their principled commitment to counter communism insurgency:

> The great fear was that if South Vietnam fell to the communists, all other seats in Asia would follow suit - the domino theory.
>
> With a heightened sense of public mission, the Americans were intent on protecting the peoples of Asia from communist aggression (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 231).

The Gulf of Tonkin incident receives validation from the text as an attack which resulted in the escalation of American involvement in the affairs in Vietnam. The Tet offensive of 1968 is described as "spectacular but militarily ineffective" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 232). The war is said to have turned bad, not because Tet was devastating to the American cause, but rather, "seeing the enemy reeling, General Westmoreland asked for a dramatic increase in American military forces to finish the job" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 232). The "anti-war" American public reaction is blamed for the alleged reaction which resulted when this request was "leaked to the press". Furthermore, the text claims, "the use of napalm and defoliants caused particular revulsion... as the public "backlash" grew. The source claims that "even today there is no agreement on the validity of American involvement in Vietnam" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 232), claiming that the "Vietnam War ended in bitter defeat for the South in 1973 with the withdrawal of US forces" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 233).

The myths promoted by this text might make for interesting reading, representing and reinforcing what amounts to a decade of contrived US government memorandums, but it stretches the limits of credibility. Firstly, while the Diem administration is certainly culpable, the text fails to explain why. Keying on the exploitation of rural and lower class urban populations, Diem promised to promote the continuation of the colonial system, replacing the French with upper class Vietnamese. David Hotham writes in 1959 that the US imposed Diem administration:

> has crushed all opposition of every kind, however anti-Communist it might be. He has been able to do this, simply and solely because of the massive dollar aid he has had from across the Pacific, which kept in power a man who, by all the laws of human and political affairs, would long ago have fallen (Hotham in Herman and Chomsky, 1988: 180).

Secondly, the Vietnam affair was more of an invasion than a war, with the United States the principle aggressor. The ability of the United States to maintain various puppet administrations in the South during the duration of the engagement lent an element of credibility, but this leadership received no widespread public support. The war was imposed on the South by the US. Chomsky writes:

> The United States attacked South Vietnam, arguably by 1962 and unquestionably by 1965, expanding its aggression to all of Indochina with lethal and long-term effects. Media coverage or other commentary on these events that does not begin by recognizing these essential facts is mere apologetics for terrorism and murderous aggression (Herman and Chomsky, 1988: 184).

This leads into a third position. It is promoted by the text that the media contributed in a significant way to the decision by the US to pullout. However, it can be effectively argued that "Tet" was extremely successful militarily for the North and that adverse press coverage only succeeded a Pentagon decision to downgrade continued military offensives (see Herman and Chomsky, 1988). In other words the media became more involved because they were allowed to. The events at My Lai, targeted by the press for the atrocities which transpired there, merely reflected a wider US policy which committed similar transgressions on a day to day basis. Interestingly, the incident first disclosed in June of 1968 to the Western public did not receive widespread press circulation in the United States until November of 1969 (Herman and Chomsky, 1988, 197).

Finally, the text underestimates the commitment, by the United States, in securing Vietnam. There is little evidence to support the credibility of the alleged "Gulf of Tonkin" incident and a great deal of evidence which discredits the Johnson declaration on August 5, 1964. The US offensive left millions dead, in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, and millions more homeless and disoriented, as a direct result of their aggressions. They bombed, burned and poisoned the people they were supposedly liberating, reaching a zenith of destruction unparalleled in earth's history. A legacy of war and instability confronted the people of Indochina for two decades after the last Americans jumped aboard the helicopters from the embassy roof in Saigon.

The above criticisms should not go undebated. Some may promote perspectives which mitigate the severity of these claims, but they must not be ignored. By doing so, these sources discredit their value as instruments of development, reproducing a discourse of imperialism which could result in future abuses. The propensity, by these texts, to reinforce imperialist discourses tempers more legitimate perspectives, affecting the ways in which others are viewed.

Imperialist discourses are not limited to the examples reviewed above. In A History of the Twentieth Century, demonstrators in Northern Ireland are "shot dead", while IRA terrorist attacks have resulted in "hundreds of innocent people" being "killed or terribly injured" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 194). In the "Algerian War", an unusual name for a dispute rising out of French imperialism, colons are said to have fought because "Algeria was their home" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 51). There is nothing here reviewing the staples of colonialism, exploitation and class differentiation. In Canada, an image of a Native American man is pictured in the text Citizenship standing, rifle in hand, on an overturned police car. The caption, identifies this man as a revolutionary" (Christison, et al. 1991: 162).

In Kenya, Kenyetta's longevity and autocratic rule is applauded by A History of the Twentieth Century, claiming that the leader's abandonment of "European style political systems" may have been worth it, as his idea of getting "different peoples and "races" to work together seemed still to be working" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 256). The text does acknowledge that the price discrimination policies against the "Asian" was a liability, and that parliament became "little more than a rubber stamp", doing what a small group of powerful men chose to. Would the text advocate the same protocol for reigning in problems of a similar nature in Great Britain, or the United States? The "readership" is decidedly established. Can "races" effectively work together if discrimination is underwritten in state law? The focus on "race" is an interesting one here. The text does not discuss why such a designation is relevant, ie. that a correlation may exist between "race" and one's social-economic status. Why are race determinations used instead of designations of ethnicity? The tone here is paternalistic, the bias eurocentric and the approach racist.

In the "volatile and unstable" Middle East it remains the role of the West to intervene to maintain order and modernize the region. The deposed Shah of Iran is said to have used "money from Iran's many oil wells to try to make the country more modern and Western in its ways", and "because he was a strong anti-communist, the Americans gave him a lot of support". But the text claims that "many of the Shah's policies went against Muslim religious beliefs" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 245). Global Forces of the Twentieth Century echoes this sentiment claiming that the Shah "embarked on a Westernization process he hoped would transform his country" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 209), but that "the Iran-Iraq War devastated both countries and led to the largest United States naval buildup since the Second World War" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 210).

The above comments represent an amazing oversimplification and distortion of the historical events. There is no analysis of autocratic and imperialistic power, as it affected specific geopolitical alliances in the region. Did the Iran-Iraq war "cause" a US naval buildup? Did the Americans support the seemingly "benevolent" Shah because he opposed communism, or because he supported Western imperialism?

The "oil rich, developing" countries of the Middle East (wealth is not a indicator of developmental success in this context), are referenced as politically naive, particularly in their "euphoric" "attempts to control the petroleum industry" in the 1970's. Interestingly, commodity market control, a science which has been "developed" in the West to an almost unprecedented level of sophistication, becomes a process associated with "Arab" "underdevelopment", inexperience and greed. Global Forces of the

Twentieth Century claims that the impact of the increased oil prices resulted in global recession, particularly damaging the "developing countries" as:

> Many were forced to default on their loans and declare bankruptcy. The gap between these countries and the industrial world widened considerably (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 208).

The degree of "scapegoating" orchestrated here should not be underestimated. It is one thing to claim that global increases in petroleum prices can result in inflationary pressures, particularly on petroleum dependent countries. It is another to claim that OPEC shoulder the responsibility for the events in question here, particularly when one considers the competition. George writes:

> In the West, we have commonly come to speak of the 'oil cartel' or of OPEC's 'cornering ' of the oil market. This control is very paltry indeed compared to the corner America has on the world food industry (George, 1986: 16).

It is an irresponsible discourse which singles out OPEC here. Firstly, as disclosed, OPEC represents only one cartel in a world of powerful oligopolic players, and should not be isolated in the ways which it has. Particularly when considering the specific influences of the United States and the trans-nationals in this resource area. Said writes:

> The Arab and Islamic world as a whole are hooked into the Western market system. No one needs to be reminded that oil, the region's greatest resource, has been totally adsorbed into the United Stated economy. By that I mean not only that the great oil companies are controlled by the American economic system; I mean also that Arab oil revenues, to say nothing of marketing, research, and industry management, are based in the United States (Said, 1979: 324).

Secondly, the discourse is inaccurate. The move by OPEC to manipulate petroleum prices is only one link in a complicated chain of events which ushered a new era of debt and usury abuse. Naylor provides a more sophisticated, and accurate, analysis:

> In 1973, the sum of world current and capital accounts doubled. Furthermore, "stagflation" became generalized in the industrialized countries. As a result, direct foreign investment and official development aid both shrank, while domestic investment in the industrialized countries also diminished sharply. Liquidity, from the decline in domestic investment and the temporary deposit of OPEC funds, piled up in Western banks, just at the point when direct foreign investment and official development aid were falling and developing-country financing needs escalated. "Recycling" became the watchword. And the now well-known and well documented explosion of both the unregulated Eurocurrency market and country debt followed (Nayor, p. 96).

The unprecedented investment by Northern banks in Southern corruption reinforced draconian administrations, corporate profits, and an accumulated debt which could never be reciprocated. Meanwhile capital flight in the form of interest payments, arms purchases and the funding of "mega-projects" institutionalized dependency. To single out one player, with so many "fingers in the pie", profoundly biases the perspective of the reader.

The United Nations (UN) and its loosely affiliated institutions, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), receive minimal review by most of these texts, excluding Global Forces of the Twentieth Century . This text dedicates a chapter to the UN. The overall glamorous presentation of the institution, as a "symbol of international lawmaking and peacekeeping" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 142), by this chapter, is reinforced throughout the source selection. The World Bank is said to have available "a pool of credit... to countries which might not have sound credit ratings at the moment, but whose futures look promising". The IMF is promoted as an institution which "stabilizes currencies" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 154). A History of the Twentieth Century praises the work of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) claiming that:

> In the 1970's the "FAO led a Green Revolution in the world's poorer countries... Without the work of the FAO there would have been more Ethiopia's (O'Callaghan, 1987: 199).
>
> Specialized agencies, like the WHO (World Health Organization), and the FAO, have saved millions of lives (O'Callaghan, 1987: 200).

The Economic and Social Council is purported to be "devoted to improving the standard of living of all the people of the world" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 146), while the General Assembly itself is said to be constructed on the "basis of national equality and the concept of one state one vote... representing the views of the non-industrial nations (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 144).

Global Forces of the Twentieth Century promotes the UN as a developing organism as it:

> Shifted from its initial efforts in post-war reconstruction, to efforts to aid impoverished nations of the developing world (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 144).
>
> These underdeveloped nations have found a forum for the publication of their needs and through this body have received technical assistance, development loans, and national prestige (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 159).

The underdeveloped nations have apparently reaped the largest percentage of the UN benefits as is evidenced in this quotation regarding the General Assembly:

> Today the 10 largest nations contribute most of the money but have only 7 per cent of the votes, while 70 nations who contribute less than .01 per cent of their GNP hold majority voting power (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 143).

But the text claims that, despite these advantages, "their gratitude for development moneys does not extend to any willingness to bear the costs of ecological concerns" (Mitchner and Tuffs, 1991: 146).

The discourses, disclosed above, provide a system of cohesion integrating the greater Western liberal-democratic myth with a proposed interpretation of the subject matter, establishing the readership. The established direction, however, is egocentric, paternalistic and ill-informed. The experiences of many nations when confronted by the UN juggernaut has been considerably different. East Timorese lobbyists, after scraping together the sufficient resources to make the journey to New York, quickly discovered the limitations of Southern power. Multi-lateral agreements can be selectively invoked by powerful states when their interests are at stake, ie. Suharto's (Indonesia's) ability to side step international criticism, receiving significant strategic, economic and political investment from the West (Toh, 1996). Is the Western student to infer from these discourses that the UN is, in actuality, a liability to the powerful and only sustained through an act of charity, that the FAO supported Green revolution helped feed the world, or that the World Bank is in the relief business:

> The World Bank ... is registered as a UN specialized agency but, in fact, its relationship to the United Nations system is tenuous in the extreme. World Bank budgets are not included when one talks of UN agencies and organizations spending $6 billion a year. The management of the Bank does not answer to the United Nations but only to its own Board of Governors which consists of Ministers of

> Finance of 151 member countries .... Votes are based entirely on the size of the financial commitment that each member state has made. There is no pretense of equality - the economic superpowers run the show (Hancock, 1989: 51).

> As a supranational agency in an increasingly globalized world ... the bank now has more to say about state policy than many states ... By accident or design, attribution or default, the policy the Bank chooses to apply in its borrowing countries becomes "de facto" the dominant one (George and Sabelli, 1994: 1).

Particularities regarding the structure of these various institutions, viz. the World Bank, are not disclosed. It is realistic to expect that the reader will come away from the experience with the inference that these are principled and well meaning institutions, which should be maintained, despite the expense, if the world is to become a more hospitable place.

It seems unimportant in the context of this discussion, whether, or not, the "spirit" of the UN is spun from "pollyanish" well meaning intentions. The politicization process here does not hinge on a Rosseauean like faith in the ability of the conscious actor to do the right thing. Blind faith makes for a poor curriculum, as subscribing to the principles of "modernization" produces an equally destructive philosophy. Uninitiated schemes and developmental projects most often serve to increase disparities in host countries, in the process creating mammoth bureaucracies which reward the despicable and corrupt. As Hancock writes:

> Long after the experts and professionals from the United Nations or the EEC or USAID or the World Bank have packed their bags and their cute ethnic souvenirs, boarded their aircraft and fled northwards, the ill-conceived development projects that they have been responsible for continue to wreck the lives of the poor (Hancock, 1989: 113).

Until the true costs of these "benevolent" institutions are conveyed to the reader, the texts will continue to be guilty of disseminating a discourse of imperialism. Development as a creative form of transformation, involving mass participation, must not be confused or mistaken for “development”, as instituted through a “growth” or “modernization” paradigm. This distinction is not made.

DEVELOPMENT AND THE GOOD LIFE

Decisions fashioned by human actors affect development, both as a strategy and an outcome. Development, in turn, will reflect the polarity of these decisions, ethical prescripts which transfer beliefs about the perceived nature of an individual's, or group's, social environment and, more importantly, how it should be. The "good life" is the logical extension of these over coded interpretations and directly, or indirectly, provides a teleological framework through which discourses are constructed. Conversely, discourses which work to deconstruct these ideological barriers, through the use of critique or irony, expose the possibilities of change.

Ideological distortion curbs the potential of the development process, both as an emancipatory technique and a political tool in interpreting the configurations of various power regiments, at the micro, and macro level. Texts which colour reader interpretation by adhering to particularized syntagmatic structures, or processing discourses through disciplinary regimes, with pretenses to analyze or advocate social realities in manufactured ways, dispense power at often imperceptible levels.

Consideration here must be given to how a text compartmentalizes its knowledge base and discursive structures. Formats which codes things female in subtexts, isolate and stigmatize. Conversely, texts also overtly disseminate coercive mechanisms through paradigmatic means which rationalize and/or desensitize abusive structures. Can one make the claim, given sufficient data, that WWII provided specific societal adaptations, in the West, which resulted in the further emancipation of "women". Underwriting both, is the over coded imaging of "how things should be".

At micro levels power is capillary. Similarities in approach circumscribe all of the sources. Narratives are effectively masked as artificers of neutrality, although the ability of the authorship to maintain this facade varies between texts. Extensive in-text structuring and compartmentalization maintains the image of "scientific" discipline, rationality and logical advancement. An informed reader is a reader who abides by and honors these paradigms. Positivism and/or Structural Functionalism are frequently advocated as "transcendentally signified" positions of review. As reviewed, Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs is introduced in the Ideologies text without qualification (Baldwin, et al. 1992: 23). A Changing World presents the student with a "Scylla and Charybdis" like dilemma, promoting the Hobbs-Rouseau debate in its binary extravagance (Couture, et al. 1991: 26). A discourse of choice and enlightenment permeates the text as an evolving democracy is traced from the Greeks to the present.

In the text Citizenship,a picture of the Greek Demosthenes is presented. The orator is credited with keeping "the practice of democracy and public debate alive and well"

(Christison, et al. 1991: 44). Interestingly, there is no discourse disclosing what the prescripts of Greek democracy meant for slaves, women, or the sophist. Conversely, words like sophistry, or epicureanism are highly connotative, in the West, and speak to the unacceptability of the specific regimes of knowledge promoted by these philosophies, viz. critical thought.

Interpretation is profoundly altered or adapted through perception. Mechanisms abstractly engendering meaning in the world are extremely relevant to social-historic variation. Can a Western text, regardless of intention, derive or define meaning, or need, applied across dimensional variation, ie time-space. What is deemed of value, can appear as an act of conscious deliberation, utilizing ideologies equated with absolute values. But can one ascertain the worth of an idea by weighing its benefits in utilitarian fashion? Can a text determine the Chinese economy to be "inefficient", because of a propensity to substitute "labour" for "capital" (Christison, et al. 1991: 170)? Questions can as often evolve out of a discourse, as solutions. Dilemmas can elapse into solutions , when one's perspective is altered.

By pursuing a paradigmatic path which glorifies development as something which is linear, definable, rational, physically quantifiable, technically oriented, orderly, hierarchical, and functional, the texts place discursive restrictions on the reader and her/his opportunity to act voluntarily. Is the act of the suicide terrorist truly irrational and thereby difficult to ameliorate? Is an act illogical or irrational because one does not understand why another committed it? Is this a sign of psychosis?

Controlling how a subject (body) reacts to the world can profoundly affect how that individual acts on the world. Working in tandem with overt abuses of manipulative power, discursive texts can effectively influence meaning and the propensity for one to act. These texts, in all the vestiges of rationality and good faith present a polarized world which, in one sphere, exists as the archetypal model of the "developed", highly advanced, in terms of technology, consumer goods, durable goods, weaponry and knowledge, and in the other, the "undeveloped", anonymous, taciturn, backward, naive, unfortunate and insignificant. Relevance is established in the phenomenology of interpretation. The issue that a people may have thrived for millennia, exhibiting a productive and sustainable agrarian economy, is inconsequential, or can be; they are backward.

Pollution or environmental degradation is not to be avoided at all costs, it is an unfortunate product of development. But then "there are some problems with the market system" (Couture, et al 1991: 100). The development paradigm is not questioned. But to develop a medicine which increases the quality of one's life is not the same thing as producing an automobile which dims its lights automatically?

A Changing World claims that an education is possibly the most influential factor in determining ones financial success (Couture, et al. 1991: 179). The text, however, does not reference the how, or where, or what. Idiomatic slogans like this foster misunderstanding and can lead to actions with potentially damaging effects. In the same text, a picture of a smiling Rosemary Brown appears above the caption, "another group has gained power - women" (Couture, et al. 1991: 46). Is the student to believe that the upward mobility of one "black woman" denotes a trend in equality. In this same chapter the text provides images of the Canadian Bill of Rights, and a picture of the singer Bryan Adams receiving the Order of Canada. Canada is undoubtedly selected here to air the mature face of development, despite some "nagging" problems, viz. the "Aboriginal and French quests for recognition". There is no relevant discussion of the Oka incident, or the persistent occurrence of citizen disenchantment and riots, affecting another "developed" nation, the United States.

The "undeveloped" have not yet found the "good life", but are pursuing the same values as the "developed". The textbook Ideologies includes a quotation by Paul Hoffman in the effort to convey inherent differences between the two societies, asking the student to speculate as to what government system would best alleviate the obvious deficiencies. Hoffman writes:

> Everyone knows an underdeveloped country when they see one. They are characterized by poverty, with beggars in the cities and villages eking (out) a bare subsistence in the rural areas. They have insufficient roads and railroads... few hospitals...most of its people cannot read or write... many have isolated islands of wealth... and exports to other countries usually consist almost entirely of raw materials (Hoffmann in Baldwin, et al. 1992: 275).

In Citizenship, four juxtapositioned images show a Filipino farmer, a North American farmer, a Japanese urbanite and a Venezuelan urban indigent (Christison, et al. 1991: 124). Presenting the "developed" and the "underdeveloped" in this way circumvents a more legitimizing discourse principled on existing differentials of power and/or other significant socio-historical factors. Avoided is a more sophisticated discourse which examines these differentials as facets of the same configuration of excess and abuse, without an inherent physical or geopolitical predisposition and cutting through political and cultural demographies. The result is a creation of "have" and "have not" situations across societal and inter-societal scenarios alike. This is not to say that some societies do not prey on others. The ability of the North to exact its daily bread on the labour and indigency of the South is only too apparent. But disparity must be viewed in its relative context. People are not developed or underdeveloped, rich or poor, happy or sad, educated or uneducated. The significance is in the difference, not the distinction. The creation of an indelible underclass within a wealthy nation like the United States is both a reality and an abhorrent breach of humanity. Disparity is not grounded in an endemic deficiency in technology, or formal education, unemployment, or poor health care, although all of these conditioning elements are certainly its products.

Like disparity, totalitarianism does not exhibit a predestined heritage. Nor can it be attributed to the ideas found in Plato's Republic, as A Changing World suggests (Couture, et al. 1991: 55). Can a text make the claim that "except for those few countries with a stable democracy, most countries have a history of conflict between elite groups fighting for power" (Couture, et al. 1991: 58)? There is nothing in the water "over there" that makes people more impressionable and irresponsible. This holds succinctly for our own Western "undeveloped", ie. the uneducated, aboriginal, or perhaps, very young. A Changing World acknowledges the efforts of Amnesty International in attempting to rid the world of its brutal dictatorial administrations (Couture, et al. 1991: 78), but somehow neglects to mention that both Canada and the United States have been indicted by the Amnesty Bulletin for offenses perpetrated against the human rights of their citizens. This is not to mention their complicity in abuses abroad, ie. Pinochet. The United States today stands as one of the most violent societies on earth, both at home and abroad, with a majority of its people voluntarily sanctioning state murder. Many believe that Canada should follow suit.

The immigrant often stands as the symbolic point of intersection between the realms of the "developed" and the "undeveloped". A History of the Twentieth Century claims that the villain Al Capone was an immigrant, but in backhanded defense, points out that "most immigrants were (are) hard working and honest", although many are said to be "unskilled, working hard, often for low wages", simply " because they want(ed) to make a success of their new lives". The source claims that some Americans "were glad to have the immigrants at first" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 103). The "undeveloped" infringe on a comfortable Western existence, despite their doltish propensity to "work hard"? Why is a discourse not included which exposes Western immigration policy as an overt form of discrimination (ie. see Canada's Immigration Law, IM-008-01-94)? Furthermore, the whole concept of "brain drain", or external subsidization, is ignored here. The "developed-underdeveloped" myth is preserved.

Consider this excerpt from the Ideologies text:

> What are the major causes of revolutions? Many people believe that it is poverty and exploitation, yet if this were so the poor of the world would be in a constant stage of rebellion (Couture, et al. 1991: 204).

This is neither a sound or valid argument. One can conceive of a world in which all revolutions are caused by poverty and exploitation without the constructed inference that all poverty will, by necessity, lead to revolution. One cannot invert a conditional argument. Revolution is frequently a determined product of the differential which exist between the expectations of some and their corresponding lifestyles. Unfortunately, social movement also requires the initial political recognition, on the part of the actors, that this disparity exists, providing a broad power base from which the group can exercise its demands. Leadership and available resources are other considerations here (see Freeman 1975, Ash, 1966, 1972, Piven and Cloward, 1977). Even when efficacy for mobility is established, significant power differentials often effectively crush the dissenting voice. But the text chooses to ignore an alternative approach to its conundrum, selecting instead the avenue of political evasion.

If the "underdeveloped" have a persona, they also have a face. While the textbooks Citizenship and A Changing World emphasize "tolerance" towards others who may look and act differently, disguising discourses predicated on the ideals of difference and intolerance, A History of the Twentieth Century pulls no punches. For this text, "many Brazilians are black" and a trip to Buenos Aires will "show hardly any black or brown faces" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 142). The text claims by the "eighteenth century most Caribbean islands had more black people than white" and that the "Morant Bay Rising frightened the whites" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 155).

The text frequently aligns contrasting discourses, appearing to sanitize its perspective. In reference to the Congo, the "greed of the rich white countries" is partially blamed for the nations "underdevelopment". "This land of steaming jungle was faced with a desperate shortage of doctors" (O'Callaghan, 1987: 200). The text claims that if you:

> Take a tropical country four times the size of France, with a population of 14 million, strip it of doctors, stop purifying drinking water and stop collecting refuse - and you have the makings of a disaster (O'Callaghan, 1987: 202).

Apparently the breach created by the "white nations" (Belgian in this case) is more analogous to parental abuse and abandonment than rape or extortion. Social assistance was forthcoming, however, as the UN moved in:

> Doctors and engineers from 40 countries packed their kit and tools off for the jungle... They ran short of catgut for sutures; and of antibiotics. When delicate work with scalpels and syringe was finished, they washed babies, scrubbed floors and cleaned latrines. But the group survived... and they stopped epidemics, cured thousands and laid a foundation for a permanent health service...The organization responsible for this was the World Health Organization (O'Callaghan, 1987: 202-203).

This discourse is not a convincing indictment of Western avarice and negligence, but instead celebrates the moral integrity of Western advances. Here the hapless "black" nation is successfully nurtured by the "developed". At the extra-discursive level, moral integrity, and the fortitude to "slum-it" once in a while, seems the marking of a "developed" people.

These sources fail in providing a working familiarity with development. Discourses which critically examine development, both at discursive and extra-discursive levels, are required. Particularly as discourses interconnect, bridging power and the political at both the micro and macro frontiers of social intersubjectivity. Speculatively, meaningful development was never a goal of the “authorship”. Vexing and insidious power, as conveyed by Foucault, is reinforced through the paradigmatic and syntagmatic structures of the texts. Coercive power is channelled in familiar methods that underpin existing inequities within the Western discursive viewpoint. Power that is emancipatory is, as a result, stifled under an oppressive discourse of development which reifies, segregates and discriminates.

Stability as a validation of the status quo remains the cornerstone, supporting an ideal of development and change innocuous to entrenched institutions. The text Citizenship claims:

> some people believe that violence and other extreme measures are the best way to produce change. Others believe that change should come about slowly and through moderate methods (Christison, et al. 1991: 73).

> Moderate change occurs when people allow a natural process to take place over time. Those who believe that change should take place in a natural way have been described as moderates. They believe that change evolves out of the peaceful interaction of individuals through methods like debate, discussion and compromise (Christison, et al. 1991: 75).
>
> In feeling hopeless... people have given over to others the power to shape their future (Christison, et al. 1991: 179).
>
> Some dictators use propaganda and censorship to shape people's attitudes. In democracy, change is carried out by those who have been granted the authority to lead society (Christison, et al. 1001: 78).

In these statements the discourse on development reverts to the status quo. Stability is thus maintained and real change effectively disenfranchised . But the reader, in giving over the power to affect his\her life to the other, can expect little in return. The reader, not the "readership", must be entrusted to make developmental decisions. Choices which are neither encouraged nor sanctioned by these texts.

CHAPTER 6 - SUMMARY

For this study five texts were selected from the grade twelve Social Studies curriculum listing, cumulatively fulfilling the prescribed "student basics" - 1994 - requirements for the province of Alberta. Other texts are listed and frequently used as "student support" manuals, but there is no binding obligation on the part of the relative institution or individual to do so. The sources reviewed in the preceding chapters were, therefore, selected on the pretense of this utility and not as a product of a more comprehensive, or subjective criteria.

The chosen source list is significant in that two of the textbooks, Challenges of Citizenship and A Changing World, were purchased and assigned for "Social Studies 33", a program focus significantly different, in terms of evaluatory, curriculum and pedagogical expectations, from "Social Studies 30", the other program designation. Both programs, however, follow a similar thematic focus, with theme "A" emphasizing political and economic systems, and theme "B" reviewing global interaction in the twentieth century ("Curriculum List", 1994). Content development is, therefore, similar in both programs, although obvious differences occur between specific sources.

With each of these sources exhibiting a specific commonality with the next, as transcribed along both paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes, at discursive and exta-discursive levels, the thematic organization of this analysis was not an imposing task. Caution, however, was exercised in theme selection. As reviewed in the initial chapters of this analysis, discourse forms possess dimensional qualities which vastly transcend those of the discursive text. All analytical processes were, therefore, executed in full cognizance of this prescript, employing a sensitivity in both connotative and denotative areas of discourse development.

In this review thematic delineation coalesces around three distinctions, citizenship, scarcity, and development. These themes are the generated products of a thorough methodological review, but are not designed as comprehensive mechanisms of exclusion, nor should they be so. Arguments can be made for a variety of approaches in discourse review. This particular configuration simply serves to meet the basic arbitrary and utilitarian goals of this study, while avoiding conditioning excess with regard to structure.

A significant literature is oriented around these themes. Underwritten by commonplace socio-cultural understandings, harnessed as discourses and transcribed in familiar ways, the texts promote distinct regimes of social organization and group identity, reviewed here selectively as, Citizenship, Scarcity and Development. These regimes are perpetuated as code\discourse and transmitted, as components bolstering other discourses, in a collaborative package, signified by and signifying distinct reality interpretations. Drawing on an intersubjectivity accessible through the interpretive repertoires of the Western subject, meaning is engendered commensurate with the world of the actor.

Created within the contours of the flowing text, discourse patterns move between binary polarities, ie. good/evil, right/wrong, rich/poor, happy/sad. The text effectively become an instrument of inclusion and exclusion in ways which accent difference, while silencing alternative points of view. Citizenship, thus, becomes familiarized within a specific ritual of acting and believing. Development becomes an objectified intent, a materialistic, consumptive, and paternalistic, process, undermined by product. The political becomes redundant and disempowers as personal growth and constructive change smother under the foundationalist weight of the status quo.

Like all interpretations of human endeavor, these texts produce amplitudes of both conflict and resolution. Wars are fought, millions die, many for beliefs which are now defunct or dying, and\or, "wrong", and ideals persevere. Like Odysseus, democracy, pluralism and other Western virtues are returning home to prosper in nations after lengthy and torrid periods of absence. The world has become a better place because justice has persisted. Further amelioration lies in the faith of the responsible citizen, exercising his/her franchise as a contributing member of society.

The future however is not without its problems. Scarcity remains, challenging the resolution of the wise and powerful of the earth to provide a better life for the indigent. The factions of good and evil, rich and poor, eruditious and naive, remain entrenched.

Keeping a story simple, however, is not always an easy endeavor. Alternative discourses must be silenced, sometimes with verisimilitude defiantly in their favour. While various techniques can be and are used to disguise the "other", many of the discourses reviewed access or manipulate paradigms in ways which circumvent or extinguish opposition. Ideological distortion is not the simple product of detectable technique, ie. tautologies, biases, exclusion, although they serve as strategic markers in signifying over coded discourse forms. Meaning is always contextual and contingent on supportable postulations regarding matters of time and space. Paradigms provide and access an interpretive repertoire, or intersubjective pool of understanding, through which coded realities merge with common sense interpretation.

Knowledge forms which do not do this, and originate from areas outside of the common paradigmatic reference, can, and often are, ignored, misunderstood or discarded, requiring significant qualification and contextualization if they are to be effective at all. For example, discourses which advocate the superiority of white men are often recognized as external to an existing belief regime and spurned. Ironically, racist or sexist discourses which operate from within a commonplace paradigm are frequently accepted and used. In contrast, discourses which promote attitudes of global equality and harmony are often shunned by a reader as existing in contradiction to stronger paradigmatic obligations, ie. Christianity, capitalism.

Paradigmatic referencing is not a created medium in itself, but merely a discourse form produced as texts code reality views. Paradigms articulate and demarcate conceptual boundaries, analogous to a geometric playing field, of specific societal interpretations and beliefs. The following paradigms are commonly used and supported within the context of the sources reviewed.

ECONOMIC PARADIGM

Economic models are frequently defined and accessed, particularly as their prescripts influence discourses on scarcity. Abstract to the extreme and value laden, these models attempt to extrapolate between the realms of the micro and macro, predicating theoretical hypotheses on basic assumptions involving rudimentary human behavior, psychological theory , values and preferences.

Living life within the model many of these postulates appear almost plausible. However, contradictions surface when the text is required to bridge the two worlds, the empirical and "ceteris paribus". The economic paradigm endeavors to do just that. Even the most deplorable effronteries against human integrity can be rationalized in this manner. Abstract economic principles and assumptions take precedent over "other" considerations. Texts freely advocate the impoverishment or dislocation of specific groups, or whole societies, on the pretense that it makes economic sense to do so. Enveloped in this perspective, discourses attain a sterility of amorality in a normative universe.

HISTORICAL PARADIGM

Approaches which image discourse in historical forms are dissimilar from their economic counterpart as:

> At no time do text writers state a systematic theory of action or social structure as found in economics texts. The degree of explicitness and frequency of judgments on these issues varies from text to text, and even in more overtly judgmental texts images of human nature and society are often embodied in copious descriptions and narrative only indirectly related to the images analyzed (Gilbert, 1984: 177).

Historical approaches, do, however, transmit prescriptive images through discourses, affecting meaning as it is transmitted to the reader. Ideals of justice, welfare, meritocracy, and rights (Gilbert, 1984: 177), combine with the promoted conventions of stability, compromise, moderation, trust, and patriotism.

Furthermore, historical paradigms isolate the reader, both temporally and spatially, from the story line. The reader is not a political participant in the action. The historical approaches used in these texts continually move to closure, following a deliberating exposition. Events or happenings are commonly associated with the capriciousness or determination of great men, or in many situations, not so great men. Hitler is seen as a venal, charismatic, evil and disturbed man who changed the face of the twentieth century, in a process which decontextualizes the event.

When this avenue is not explored, historical occurrences are reflected upon as the product of a randomly executing universe, a unceasing progression of causes and events. Historical antecedents are not reviewed as both artificers and products of uneven, often coercive and continuing configurations of power and authority. Although it is often acknowledged that Germany got a "raw deal" at Versailles, it is never explained how "friendly" administrations can justify their acts of oppression, then and now. Imperialism is "passe". State sponsored murder and genocide is the possession of misguided zealots and modern day despots. The reader is anonymous, unaccountable, and exonerated of responsibility.

GROWTH PARADIGM

The growth paradigm is another perspective frequently called upon to colour discourse, specifically with the subject of development as a focal point. In this perspective, growth is synonymous with material advancement. Incentives, goals and the accompanying cognitive structures remain hierarchical, and linear. Logical depositions are means/end in orientation, while success is measured in accrued quantities. Subscribing to this paradigm, a text can place the primacy of material aggregate growth over other ethical, humanitarian, or pragmatic considerations. For example, in a situation where an economy experiences decelerated periods of growth, austerity measures are not only just, but prudent, viz. curtailment of social spending, even if the impoverishment of some leaves others materially better off.

The social impact of growth, the depletion and misallocation of limited resources, or the spin off effects of pollution on the physical environment, are externalities defined as problems which must be resolved within the parameters of the paradigm. Pollution legislation, can be advocated, but only if it does not profoundly mitigate material growth. Solutions are underwritten by the paradigm. Research and technological innovation is to be given unfettered support by the community, despite a significant "lag" time, often twenty years or more, in a society's ability to appropriate an accompanying morality, ie. nuclear, or reproductive technology. What is implicitly stated through this association is that material growth is a necessary, and often defining, component of productive human activity.

DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM

The Development Paradigm is a perspective orienting the social actor around a specific philosophical, political and empirical position, and is often used in combination with the growth and/or economic perspective(s). Development here also exhibits a materialist prosperity, but unlike the growth position, development is situational, with most societies possessing neither the knowledge or the resources to achieve it. "Third World" countries can, therefore, experience aggregate growth without being considered developed. Development is a distinction signifying the undeveloped. The oil rich Middle East nation can solicit Western tutelage in form and manners, down to the structure of its educational system and design of its automobiles, and still not make the developmental grade. The failure is in its difference.

For the majority of the world's peoples these distinctions are held as self evident, particularly among the very poorest of societies. Development is not to be unearthed in the egalitarian nature of a nation or people. A society's ability to effectively feed all of its people adequately, or provide an "appropriate" health and education system, ie.

China, or Cuba, can be , and often is, overlooked. Signification is grounded in Western imperialism and paternalism. That most Western nations do more to "undevelop" a, so called, "infant" society than "develop" it is also unimportant. In this paradigm, the United States is considered a sophisticated democracy, despite the society's remarkable success at limiting choice. In America, with both political camps gravitating along the same ideological axis, the political system exhibits qualities representative of a one party state. Canada is not significantly different here. A Central American nation, however, which draws on extensive grass roots political participation, involving a number of diversely oriented political parties, is referenced as burgeoning, and may even receive vociferous admonishment for its lack of institutional structure, alas, it offers too much choice. Too much democracy is bad for development.

The Development Paradigm harbours a Western mind set, considering other cultural forms to be inferior and in need of redress. Hunter\gatherer forms of social and economic organization belong to the recesses of humanities primordial past. That the hunter\gatherer, or the nomad, coexists with the Westerner, is simply testimony to the latency of the undeveloped and primitive. Development is viewed as a linear process of economic, political and cultural advancement. The majority of the sources exclude these groups altogether from the text, apparently disregarding the validity of these specific social configurations. In this paradigm, development is synonymous with Western achievement and technological progress.

IMPERIALIST PARADIGM

Imperialism, as a discourse, ties in effectively with the over coded concepts of "growth" and "development". Imperialism underwrites existing inequities in power, specifically as these differentials, colour and are coloured, through inter-human relationships. By masking these disparities, this paradigm both decontextualizes and depoliticizes, in a process which subscribes to dichotomies of right and wrong and good and evil. War is not seen as an offensive clash of adversaries powerful enough to act in very physical and violent ways. It is familiarlized in mechanisms both ethical and pragmatic.

The Korean War is determined to be a police action, despite the United State's role in exacerbating the conflict. The Vietnam invasion was enacted for the most benevolent of reasons, despite the carnage imposed. The Gulf War pitted the forces of good and evil in new and unprecedented ways, in defiance of an UN involvement which cowed to the indignities of the United States, as it obliterated hundreds-of-thousands of the retreating enemies in a technology of equipment and language which sanitized the entire engagement.

In the lexicon of the "imperialist", terrorism is conducted by the fanatic, malevolent actions which are both meaningless and inexplicable. Terrorist raids, however, by the United States, Israel, or even "underdeveloped friendlies", go unreported, or are redefined in a euphony of discourse which mitigates intent.

In Herman's and Chomsky's "Propaganda Model", motives and method of the Western media are tied in with significant power structures as they subscribe to the concensus of the elite. Although designed and simplified to work as a theoretical abstraction, this model, in many ways, clarifies the role of hegemonic and coercive mechanisms of power in reinforcing imperialist structures within the Western social milieu (Chomsky, 1988). Here complicity does not reflect a predisposition to conspire, but is derived as the product of power, self interest, and systemic imbalance. An imperialist discourse works in the controlling interests of the empowered, and is extremely difficult to rewrite. It is not significant that one discovers or creates something or someplace first, but that something or someplace is associated to someone who is significant.

Similarly, "friendly" government intervention is imposed, not for political reasons, but as a morally or ideologically mandated necessity. In this way states can both commit atrocities, ie. (with regard to the US) Panama, Chile, Waco and ignore them, East Timor, Yugoslavia. A position which resides in contradiction to other existing paradigmatic discourses within a socially prescribed context, ie. Christian-Greek scriptures, Humanism. Imperialism is primarily a discourse of control.

DEMOCRATIC-PLURALIST PARADIGM

Democratic-pluralism is a discourse which celebrates the advancements of Western democracy and social organization. Tracing its roots back to the ancient Greeks, the paradigm historically situates the present Western democracies at the conceptual apex of historic evolution and cultural fruition. In this perspective development is relational, as forces of amelioration and enlightenment overcome deeper and more primitive instinctual faculties. Both assumed and inferred within this paradigm is the acquiescence of this darker side, the antithesis to Western "enlightenment" and "advancement".

The democratic-pluralistic society is credited with offering its patrons free choice, despite a track record signifying otherwise. "Free choice," however, does not cover the guaranteed attainment of a subsistence diet, or a meaningful alternative, politically, to the status quo. The voter allegedly possesses the mandated power of redress, as does the consumer in the economic paradigm. The perspective, however, circumvents a more accurate analysis of power in modern Western democracies. There is no meaningful discussion of underclasses, oligopolies, patriarchy, subsidization through immigration, or the exportation of poverty. The paradigm does not reveal why Western states display a propensity to impoverish and incarcerate their aboriginal people, or why it is necessary to tax the poor regressively in an effort to subsidize the cultural practices of the wealthy. The tyranny of the majority is not introduced. What is the function of the media in the role of hegemonic consolidation and the manipulation of the voter? What socio-economic class do the political representatives draw from for contributions and support? If a society is pluralistic, why do women and minorities make considerably less than white males?

Utopian and short sighted, democratic-pluralism advocates a society base and structure which possesses no merit in fact, an act of distortion both irresponsible and harmful. Particularly as the societies accredited are neither democratic nor pluralistic. The average Westerner, exercises little control in legitimating meaningful change. The paradigm advocates itself as a model to other "developing" groups, failing to elaborate that Western prosperity is not so much a product of its political and economic structure as of imperialistic conquest sustained and validated through political complacency.

Of the paradigms reviewed here, this one is perhaps the most lethal. The meritocratic vision of the perspective isolates the actor in a future which is autonomous and opportunistic. Failure lies in the individual's inability to get it right. Prosperity accrues to the accolades of the society. Northern avarice and aggrandization goes unreported. The actor is disempowered, the situation depoliticized. What do the words technical rationality or scientific management mean to this culpable individual, in an environment so disembodied from the discourse.

There are other dominant discourses or paradigms which surface in the reviewed sources, ie, positivism, Christianity, patriarchy, which cannot be discussed at length here, although some are reviewed in earlier chapters. All of these discourses, however, significantly affect meaning as it is generated and disseminated within the textual context.

The reliance, by these texts, on these specific structures, in effect, only reinforces commonly referenced coding networks within Canadian society. This is not unusual. Meaning is shared, coding is inevitable, even over coding. But to say that the above perspectives should be used in place of others, particularly by educational textbooks, represents an act of choice which is politically motivated and only defensible in that context. Alternative paradigms or avenues of understanding do exist, are accessible to the average reader's repertoire, and generate discourse forms dramatically more sophisticated. To select paradigm forms which play to entrenched power networks within Western society, is to reproduce those systems. By reinforcing these discourses one is, either passively or actively, in process, entrenching institutional authority. If this same authority disenfranchises, deceives, alienates or coercively oppresses, then arguably, these discourse forms should be effaced, not propagated.

It is conceivable to both review the targeted curriculum, in terms of an assigned knowledge content, and stimulate thought, empathy, politicization, equality, solidarity, justice in a young mind. It is not that these constructs are excluded from the resource material, at least in some definable aspect. But axiomatic discourse forms, tied in to specific and historically derived processes of interpretation and belief, distort and code meaning in recognizable ways.

Conventional connotations can be misleading and excessively normative. Are the Western democracies tantamount to just and equal states? Is the act of politicization synonymous with the conventions of universal suffrage? Why do not the texts attempt to deconstruct the entrenched coding in these concepts? Is empathy to be confused with, tokenism, ie. the processes of donating to a recognizable charity, or eating less animal product? Discourse meaning is not necessarily identifiable within a discursively situated language structure. The sources often engage in a text advocating what seems an innocuous, if not embracing, sentiment, ie. helping the needy, or curtailing the power of the multinational, while simultaneously bolstering a dominant countervailing discourse or paradigm.

Similarly, while much of the reported information in these sources can be substantiated, at least in general terms, historically, ie. death tolls, or event dates, discourse configurations move beyond this basic level of validation. An over reliance on objective-empiricism can deceptively mask the larger image, ie. which deaths are reported, what events are considered important. It is the dominant image which is significant here. Like a collage constructed out of magazine clippings, meaning flows and changes with the addition of every new picture, in phenomenological ways.

The paradigms examined in this chapter dominate and supersede alternative discourse forms, as represented within the texts reviewed.. Formalized interpretations are prescribed and meaning is manufactured to coincide with specific regimes of power. Alternative discourse forms are effectively silenced. Opportunities to break or extend with these circumscribing configurations are squandered, with the presented text retaining a simplicity incommensurate with lived horizons, past and present. The reader is objectified, isolated, exonerated from responsibility despite the individuals obvious participation in the review process. Furthermore, the reader is a significant and contributing actor in the empirical world in question. A person's first act upon reviewing these, or any, text(s) should be a political one. Discourse selection and recapitulation is an active process, yet the student is neither encouraged to validate or contradict the information transmitted through these sources, but simply accept it.. Is a reader to accept text structure and content verbatim?

The reader is not encouraged to access other discourses offering alternatives. The "other" is effectively, and sometimes not so effectively silenced, as the student is not empowered with the choice to determine the difference. Reader interaction has been promoted in this review as the first step of meaningful development. If a reader can not take possession of a discourse, supporting, or rejecting, it, according to its political merits, then that individual is placing a profound trust in the authorship, an ill-placed sentiment.

Texts are not static treatise of knowledge weighing discretionary considerations. Texts are fluid, sophisticated, and contradictory. Paradigms can and are contradicted by other paradigms. Authorial intention is not a determining factor here. These sources tell the student a great deal about the universe which she/he occupies, if that person only knows where to look. The same discourse which envelops the world in an ideology of meaning, is contradicted by the potentiality of its own contradiction. Configurations of power, both at micro and macro levels, lead the reader towards reality interpretations distinct in their comprehension.

By exposing these biases an individual can better initiate avenues of redress. The reviewed texts can prove extremely useful as pedagogical tools. For if a society sanctions a process of knowledge detainment and dissemination which advocates dominance over coexistence, competition at the expense of cooperation, and deception as a mechanism of deferring responsibility, then there is much for the young and idealistic to recognize and change. The difficulty here lies, as always, in "reading between the lines" and acting. The alternative, in this case, as close a thing to the truth as can be avoided, can only serve to entrench a class system of power, cycled and recycled, as discourse, but played out as ignorance, prejudice and complacency.

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